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By

John Boyd Thacher

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Christopher Columbus

By

John Boyd Thacher

Volume I — Part II

PART IV
THE PURPOSE

CHAPTER XXXVII

DISCOVERIES BY THE PORTUGUESE

LAS CASAS, in his *Historia*, gives a letter ¹ from Columbus to their Catholic Majesties, written in May (1505), in which we read:

"Dios Nuestro Señor milagrosamente me envió acá porque yo sirviese á V. A. Dije milagrosamente porque fui á aportar á Portugal, adonde el Rey de allí entendia en el descubrir mas que otro: él le atajo la vista, oído y todos los sentidos, que en catorce años no le pude hacer entender lo que yo dije."

"God, our Lord, miraculously sent me here that I might serve your Highness: I said miraculously because I went to take refuge in Portugal, where the King of that country understood the discovery better than any other: he put to shame his sight, hearing, and all his faculties, for in fourteen years I could not make him understand what I said."

If we can fix the year 1485, toward its close, as the time when Columbus went to Spain, this passage would justify us in placing his arrival in Portugal at the close of the year 1471. But a difficulty immediately arises as to this King to whom the long appeal of fourteen years was made. Alfonso V., the greatest of Portuguese monarchs, under whom the discoverers and explorers became bolder and bolder, pushing their way well down on the African coast, was born in 1432 and succeeded his father, Edward, in the year 1438, formally abandoning his throne to his son, John II., April 26, 1475, and dying in 1481. If the Admiral is speaking of an individual King, of Alfonso V., then the fourteen years would need to be deducted from 1475, when the date of his coming into Portugal would be made to read 1461. If he refers to John II. as the King to whom he appealed all this

¹ Las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, lib. ii., cap. xxxvii., fol. 112; also Navarrete, vol. iii., p. 527.

time, then it would be in the year 1489—adding fourteen years to 1475, when he may be said to have mounted the throne—that he abandoned hope and went into Spain. Neither of these dates seems satisfactory or consistent with facts. Prince John, the son and successor to Alfonso V., was born May 3, 1455. He was precocious and ambitious. When he was but a little passed of fifteen he accompanied his father to the wars, and it would be about this same time that Columbus, if he meant this Prince, might have commenced his solicitations and have continued them four or five years to a Prince and the remaining nine or ten years to the same Prince, become first Regent and then King.

Whoever has read the life of Prince Henry the Navigator has had a picture of that student youth building his mighty castle on the promontory of Sagres, whence he looked out on a wild, unbroken Atlantic, dreaming at night of an eastern world and by day planning expeditions to reach that other world by a southern route around the African coast. His eyes were fixed on the western sun. His outstretched arm directed his ships to the south. This great Prince¹ adopted for his motto, *Talent le bien faire*, and we believe his aspiration was to *do well* another thing,—a greater thing than wresting from the Mohammedan a walled Ceuta,—and that no other thing than demonstrating the sphericity of the earth.

Dom Pedro, brother to Prince Henry the Navigator, in 1428 brought back from Venice a manuscript of Marco Polo's *Book of Travels*, which the Venetian Republic had presented to him. The descriptions of Cathay and the riches of India must have fired the imagination and inspired the hope of Prince Henry. A map accompanied the manuscript, which, according to Antonio Galvam, whose *Treatise on the Discoveries of the World* was written about the year 1555, "had all the parts of the World and Earth described. The Straight of Magellan was called in it the Dragon's taile: the Cape of Bona Sperança, the forefront of Afrike [and so foorth of other places]: by which map Don Henry the King's third sonne was much helped and furthered in his discoveries." Galvam says, in addition, that he was told by Franciso de Sousa Tavares that in the year 1528, Dom Fernando, the son and heir of King Manoel, showed him a map

¹ There was some good English blood in Prince Henry's veins. His mother, Queen Philippa, was daughter to stout "old John of Gaunt, time-honoured Lancaster."

which was found in the Cartorio, or study of the Royal Monastery of Alcobaça, which had been made more than a hundred and twenty years before, on which was laid down all the navigation of India, with the Cape of Good Hope as it was now known.

The Venetian traveller, Nicolo de' Conti, somewhere about the year 1444 returned from his wanderings in the East, and every word he uttered confirmed the tales of his countryman, Marco Polo. Pope Eugenius IV. ordered him to put in writings his adventures, and these were copied in many manuscripts. Prince Henry, beyond doubt, had one of these before him. When Ramusio sought a copy he had to go to Portugal to find it, although that particular manuscript was made for King Manoel.

King Alfonso employed the Venetian priest, Fra Mauro, of the Camaldolese monastery of San Miguel de Murano, from 1457 to 1459, in constructing his famous map. Not only on this map is the Cape of Good Hope delineated under the name of *Cavo di Diab*, but at this point on the map is inscribed a legend to the effect that in 1420 an Indian junk was successful in rounding the Cape, coming from India in search of certain islands inhabited separately by men and women.¹

No one pretends that the delineations on such maps were the result of actual maritime experiences of Venetian and Portuguese mariners. They were merely propounding geographical theories, and, as we have elsewhere said, makers of maps were always in advance of explorers. Herodotus, repeating what the Carthagenians said, tells us that in the time of Xerxes, Sataspes, son of Teaspes of the Achæmenidian family, went on an expedition to circumnavigate Africa. The Cilician philosopher, Crates, considered that Menelaus in his wanderings started from Cadiz and doubled the Cape of Good Hope, passing through the Indian Ocean, thus making the entire circuit of Africa. When, in the time of Sesostris, it was proposed to connect the Mediterranean with the Red Sea, the possibility of circumnavigating Africa was admitted, but its difficulty justified the creation of an artificial water-way. Aside from speculation,

¹ The story of the Amazons is not confined to one region or one age. Columbus on his first voyage was told by the natives of an island in the neighbourhood called Matinino, inhabited solely by women.

there were traditions that some had navigated along the entire coast of Lybia.

It is not strange if Prince Henry had upon his table a map on which was sketched the southern coast until an opening appeared leading around its extremity to a continuous sea up and across which a vessel could make its way to India. The first engraved map of Ptolemy's Geography shows plainly in practically their true relation the two great lakes which Stanley in our time rediscovered. Some geographers listened to tales of travellers describing such lakes. Other geographers reasoned that the melting snows of the mountains would require great reservoirs to store the waters until a stream should bear them northward to a sea. In any event they were pictured on a map. Hieronymus Monetarius (Munzer or Munzmeister), a doctor of Nuremberg, wrote a letter to King John of Portugal, a grand-nephew of Prince Henry, which letter was dated Nuremberg, July 14, 1493, in which he said: "As you have laudably initiated the Most Serene Infant Dom Henry, your uncle, in sparing neither efforts nor expense to *demonstrate the sphericity of the earth*," etc.

The object of the Nuremberg Munzer was to excite the Portuguese King to navigate westward beyond his Azore Islands, but we quote from it this paragraph to show that the geographers and scientists believed that Prince Henry was trying to circumnavigate Africa to reach a point at the extreme east, on the meridian of Lisbon, and thus to demonstrate in a practical lesson the sphericity of the earth. If Prince Henry could be called before a tribunal of geographers to-day and asked if his object had been simply to go southward along the African coast and open up a communication with some mysterious Prester John, or to turn sharply the corner of the continent when first he found it and sail into seas which, however distant, would be somewhere near the latitude of Portugal, we doubt not he would explain that his object was first of all scientific, knowing that the thing which is scientific is the next day a thing beneficial for man, and that he had hoped to prove the earth to be round, with human beings living and moving on its opposite side. The Portuguese certainly were to find and help any Christians living on the coast of Africa, or even in the interior, but this was only in passing. The East was their goal.

From the middle of the twelfth century there had been a rumour that somewhere in the far East there was a people ruled by a Christian, called Prester, or Presbyter John. In the year 1165, there was said to have been a letter from him circulated among the sovereigns of the western world. In 1177, Pope Alexander III. is said to have written a letter to *Magnificus Rex Indiorum, sacerdotum sanctissimus*. Some located this potentate in Asia and some in Abyssinia.¹ But whoever the true Prester John may have been, whenever he may have lived, or wherever his kingdom may have been located, the Prester John of Marco Polo was a ruler in the East to whom the Tartars were once tributary, and against whom they finally rose in successful revolt. The defeat of this Prester John was on a vast plain called Tanduc, and while the site of this great battle is disputed, the Tanduc of Marco Polo is the Mongolian town of Koukou-Khoton, situated in north latitude 40° 40' and 111° 15' east of Greenwich. We think, when Prince Henry commissioned his captains to see this eastern monarch, he must have had in mind the relation made by Marco Polo and by the Venetians, seeing that he had before him the manuscript of Polo's book.

When we turn to documentary evidence, we find that Pope Nicolas V., under date of January 8, 1454, recognises the purpose of Prince Henry to discover a route to the south *and the east, even to the Indies*.

Credens [Princeps Henricus] se maximum in hoc deo præstare obsequium, si ejus opera et industria mare ipsum usque ad Indas qui Christi nomen colere dicuntur navigabile fieret.

While there is perhaps some confusion relative to the Papal Bulls in which territorial concessions were made to Portugal, most of the Portuguese writers refer to instruments issued by Martinus V., who gave to that nation not only such possessions as it might discover from Cape Bojador to the Antarctic Pole, but also from Cape Bojador to the Indies.

It is true that much of the language in the Papal Bulls issued by Nicolas V., and in those said to have been before issued by Martinus V., justified possession of lands by the Portuguese only in the south, but this was simply in line with progressive steps. When that nation turned the southern point and began to sail

¹ Vasco da Gama, in his *Journal*, speaks of the river Nile as coming from the region in which Prester John had his kingdom.

to the eastward, it would be time enough for the Popes to denominate eastern lands in the bond. It suffices that the purpose of Prince Henry of finding a way to the East, to the Indies, was recognised.

In the year 1460, the Portuguese, Diogo Gomez, made a voyage on the caravel *Picanso* (the *Wren*), with two other caravels, to the islands westward of Cape Verde and along the African coast. He had with him an Indian, as we see in the following passage:

Being desirous of proving this thing,—the good intentions of a certain great African chief,—I sent a certain Indian named Jacob, whom the Prince [Henry] had sent with us, in order that *in the event of our reaching India*, he might be able to hold speech with the natives. . . .

That Gomez did not consider as *Indians* the people he was then visiting, or the people he had anywhere seen upon his voyage along the African coast, may be known from the fact that he constantly refers to them as *negroes*. Nor has there ever been a time when the Portuguese and the world have doubted the ultimate purpose of Prince Henry in making his expeditions. The fact that the Portuguese took possession of the coast of Africa, the fact that Prince Henry commissioned the Venetian, Alvise Cadamosto, and other foreigners to trade along the coast, these things do not prove that his thoughts and purposes went no further than the coast line of Africa. This coast line was of importance to his project. It was a barrier, the end of which he must find to go upon his way, but his way was to the East—to India.

On July 24, 1840, in the reign of Doña Maria II., a monument was erected and dedicated at Sagres to the memory of this great Prince, and its opening lines reveal the belief of the Portuguese as to his purposes when in the flesh:

Sacred for ever! In this place the Great Prince Henry, son of John I., King of Portugal, having undertaken to discover the previously unknown regions of West Africa, and also *to open a way to the circumnavigation of Africa to the remotest parts of the East*,¹ established at his own cost the famous

¹ We have dwelt upon this purpose of Prince Henry and of the Portuguese to reach India by the circumnavigation of Africa, because of the attempt of Mr. Henry Vignaud, in his very able and interesting book, entitled *La Lettre et la Carte de Toscanelli*, to prove that the Portuguese were not seeking India, the Land of Spices, and that therefore Toscanelli could not have been the author of a letter which made that

School of Cosmography, the Astronomical Observatory, and the Naval Arsenal.

It would seem that Columbus considered his whole time spent in Portugal as one long endeavour to realise his purpose, and that this period covered some fourteen years. We may say then that Columbus went into Portugal about the year 1471, and that even then he entertained projects for the discovery of the Indies by the western seas. We have no account of Columbus after his leaving Italy and before his going into Portugal. In the *Historic*, Ferdinand quotes from a letter:

"Et in vn'altra lettera, che egli scriffe dalla Spagnuola del mese di Genajo l'anno M CCCC XCV a' Re Catolici, raccontando loro le varietà, & gli errori, che fogliono trovarsi nelle dirotte, & pilotaggi, dice. A me auuene, che'l Rè Reine, il quale DIO ha aprefso di fe, mi mandò a Tunigi, perch'io prendessi la galeazza Fernandina; & giunto preffo all'ifola di San Pietro in Sardigna, mi fu detto, che erano con detta galeazza due naui, & vna Caraca. per la qual cofa fi turbò la gente, che era meco, & deliberarono di non paffar più innanzi; ma di tornare indietro a Marfiglia per vn'altra naue, & più gente. & io, vedendo, che non poteua senza alcuna arte sforzar la lor volontà, concessi loro quel, che voleuano: & mutando la punta del buffolo, feci fpiegar le vele al vento, effendo già fera; & il dì feguente all'apparir del Sole ci ritrouammo dentro al capo di Cartagena, credendo tutti per cofa certa, che a Marfiglia n'andaffimo. Et medefimamente in vna memoria, o annotazione, ch'ei fece, dimostrando, che tutte le cinque Zone fono habitabili, & prouandolo con l'ifperientia delle navigationi, dice; Io navigai l'anno M CCCC LXXVII nel mese di Febraio oltra Tile ifola cento leghe la cui parte Australe è lontana dall' Equinottiale fettantatre gradi, & non feffantatre, come alcuni vogliono: nè giace dentro della linea, che include l'Occidente di Tolomeo, ma è molto più Occidentale. Et a quest' ifola, che è tanto grande, come l'Inghilterra, vanno gl'Inglefi con le loro mercatantie fpecialmente quelli di Bristol. Et al tempo, che io vi andai, non era congelato il mare, quantunque vi foifero sì groffe maree, che in alcuni luoghi afcendeua ventifei braccia, & difcendeua altrettanti in Altezza. E bene il vero, che Tile, quella, di cui Tolomeo fa mentione, giace doue egli dice; & quefta da' moderni è chiamata Friflanda."

assertion. The Florentine philosopher says: "I have formerly spoken with you concerning a shorter route to the places of spices by ocean navigation than that which you [you Portuguese] are pursuing by Guinea." Mr. Vignaud argues that at the time of this letter, June 25, 1474, the Portuguese had not considered the question of reaching India. If this is true, his inference that the letter of Toscanelli is no more than a fabrication has force. We entertain the belief that the Portuguese, seeing the wealth pouring into Genoa and Venice from the East, from India, knowing the dangers the traders met in penetrating by land to those regions, fearful to attempt a way thither over the Sea of Darkness, sought a passage by slowly but surely creeping along the coast of Africa.

"And in another letter which he wrote from Española in the month of January, 1495, to the Catholic Sovereigns, relating to them the variations and errors which are customarily found in the direction and pilotage [of ships], he says: 'It happened to me, that the King René, whom God has taken to himself, sent me to Tunis to take the Galias Fernandina; and having arrived near the island of St. Peter in Sardinia, I was told that two ships and a carack were with the said galias. The people who were with me were disturbed because of this, and they resolved not to go any farther forward; but to turn backward to Marseilles for another ship and more people. And I, seeing that I could not constrain them without some artifice, conceded to them what they desired: and, changing the needle of the compass, I caused the sails to be unfolded to the wind, it being already evening: and the following day at sunrise, we found ourselves inside the cape of Carthage, every one believing it certain that we were going to Marseilles.' And likewise in a memorandum or annotation which he made, demonstrating that all the five zones are habitable, and proving it by the experience of navigation, he says: 'I navigated in the year 1477, in the month of February, 100 leagues beyond the island of Thule, the southern part of which is 73 degrees distant from the Equinoctial Line, and not 63° as some make it; it does not lie within the line which includes the Occident of Ptolemy, but is much farther westward. And to this island, which is as large as England, the English go with their merchandise, especially those from Bristol. And at the time that I went there, the sea was not frozen, although there was such a tide there that in some places it rose 26 fathoms and fell as much.' [And it is very true that the Thule of which Ptolemy makes mention lies where he says; and this by moderns is called Frislanda]."

This King can be no other than the good King René d'Anjou, Comte de Provence. The expression, *il quale dio ha apresso di se* proves him to have been then sometime dead, and King René died in 1480. But from the year 1461, this King had abandoned territorial contention and had devoted himself to study and to the encouragement of the arts. If the occurrence happened between 1460 and July 17, 1461, the date when the Genoese abandoned the King of Anjou, the youthful Columbus would have been too young to command a vessel and to control a crew in the manner described by him. In the next narration Columbus is more explicit. In the month of February, in the year 1477, the account declares he navigated a hundred leagues beyond Thule to a large island, which voyage we will soon discuss.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

THE LETTER OF TOSCANELLI IN THE SPANISH, LATIN, AND ITALIAN VERSIONS

It is probable Columbus had been some time in Portugal when his correspondence with the Florentine philosopher, Paolo Toscanelli, took place. A Florentine by the name of Lorenzo Girardi,¹ who had been engaged in mercantile pursuits in Lisbon, was returning to his native city on the Arno, and to him Columbus intrusted a letter addressed to Paolo Toscanelli. Unfortunately we have not this letter nor any letter written to the Florentine savant by Columbus.

Many writers seem to think we are dependent for at least a part of the Toscanelli letters on Ferdinand Columbus, who, in his *Historic*, gives the important preliminary letter written to his father. Toscanelli undoubtedly wrote his letter in Latin, which Ferdinand put into Spanish, and Ulloa in turn translated into Italian. But we have a safer source of information, and one which has not been stirred or contaminated by the uncertainties of another tongue. Bartolomé de las Casas, in speaking of Paolo Toscanelli, writes:

The said Master Paul having received the letter from Christopher Columbus, replied in a letter written in Latin, incorporating therein the letter he had written to Hernando Martinez, Canon, which letter I saw and had in my hands, it being translated from Latin into Romance [Spanish.]

Las Casas, then, had in his hand, available for incorporation into his *Historia*, not only the Spanish translation of Toscanelli's letters, but the Latin original and the original map made by Toscanelli.²

¹ Las Casas calls him Lorenzo Birardo. The *Historie* gives the name Lorenzo Girardi, and this is a well-known Tuscan name.

² While the words of Las Casas taken literally may not justify the interpretation that he had held in his hands the original letter, it seems very unlikely that a writer

Farther on Las Casas says:

The marine chart, which he [Toscanelli] sent him, I, who write this history, have in my possession.

This marine chart is a part, an essential part, of the Toscanelli letter. It establishes the authenticity of the correspondence. This is the language of a true historian—careful, exact, given to explanation, fully alive to the importance of original matter and the authority of primitive sources. We reproduce in our chapter on “The Handwriting of Columbus,” in exact fac-simile, the Latin manuscript of the Toscanelli letter, copied in the hand of Columbus himself on the rear guard-leaf of the *Historia Rerum Ubique Gestarum* of Æneas Sylvius, and printed at Venice in the year 1477. The authenticity of this manuscript is attacked. Indeed, it is charged that it is a forged document made by Christopher Columbus, or by his brother Bartholomew, and its consideration might with some propriety be undertaken at once. But we prefer to consider its genuineness in that portion of this Work where it more properly belongs—“The Handwriting of Columbus.” We have therefore quoted from Toscanelli’s correspondence as we find it in the *Historia* of Las Casas.

The letters written by Columbus to the Florentine savant are not known. That they disclosed a knowledge on the part of Columbus of the situation in which the great geographical question then found itself, and that the solution of the problem proposed by the Genoese adventurer—whom, by the way, Toscanelli seems to regard as a Portuguese—was in harmony with the answer worked out by the philosopher himself, must seem to the reader clear and certain.

The following is the letter as found in the *Historia* of Las Casas:

“A Cristóbal Columbo, Paulo, físico, salud:

“Yo veo el magnífico y grande tu deseo para haber de pasar adonde nace la especería, y por respuesta de tu carta te invio el traslado de otra carta que ha dias yo escribí á un

“To Christopher Columbus, Paul, the physician, greeting:

“I see your great and magnificent desire to go where the spices grow, and in reply to your letter I send you the copy of another letter which I wrote a long time ago to a familiar

would have such a declaratory style in speaking of a mere copy or translation. It was an authoritative document he held in his hand, something which enabled him to relate its contents with knowledge and certainty.

amigo y familiar del Serenísimo Rey de Portugal, ántes de las guerras de Castilla, á respuesta de otra que por comision de S. A. me escribió sobre el dicho caso, y te invio otra tal carta de marear, como es la que yo le invié, por la cual serás satisfecho de tus demandas: cuyo treslado es el que se sigue. Mucho placer hobe de saber la privanza y familiaridad que tienes con vuestro generosísimo y magnificéntísimo Rey, y bien que otras muchas veces tenga dicho del muy breve camino que hay de aquí á las Indias, adonde nace la especiería, por el camino de la mar más corto que aquel que vosotros haceis para Guinea, dícesme que quiere agora S. A. de mí alguna declaracion y á ojo demonstracion, porque se entienda y se pueda tomar el dicho camino; y aunque conozco de mí que se lo puedo mostrar en forma de esfera como está el mundo, determiné por más facil obra y mayor inteligencia mostrar el dicho camino por una carta semejante á aquellas que se hacen para navegar, y así la invio á S. M. hecha y debujada de mi mano; en la cual está pintado todo el fin del Poniente, tomando desde Irlanda al Austro hasta el fin de Guinea, con todas las islas que en este camino son, en frente de las cuales derecho por Poniente está pintado el comienzo de las Indias con las islas y los lugares adonde podeis desviar para

friend and servant of the Most Serene King of Portugal, before the wars of Castile, in reply to another which he wrote me about the said matter by command of his Highness: and I send you another seaman's chart like that which I sent to him, by which your requests will be satisfied; the copy of my letter is as follows:

"It pleased me greatly to learn of your¹ familiar intercourse with your most generous and most magnificent King, and although many other times I have spoken of the very short route from here to the Indies where spices grow,—shorter by way of the sea than that which you follow to Guinea,—you tell me that his Highness would now like from me some declaration and demonstration by sight, in order that he may understand and be able to take the said route. And although I know from my own knowledge that the world can be shown as it is in the form of a sphere, I have determined for greater facility and greater intelligence to show the said route by a chart similar to those which are made for navigation, and thus I send it to his Highness made and drawn by my hand: in which all the end of the West is shown, from Ireland to the south as far as the end of Guinea, with all the islands which lie on this route²; in front of which

¹ The reader will remember that this letter was written by Toscanelli to Fernam Martins, Canon at Lisbon.

In the Latin manuscript of Columbus the address is given at the beginning of the letter.

² Here is a marked departure from the Latin manuscript, which reads:

Cartam manibus meis factam in qua designantur litora vestra & insulae ex quibus incipitis iterfacere versus occasum semper: "A map made by my own hands, in which are drawn your shores and islands from which you are always to begin journeying toward the West."

If the reader will turn to the letter as given by Ferdinand Columbus in his *Historie*, he will see another proof that the son and the Bishop of Chiapas took their copies from

la línea equinoccial, y por cuanto espacio, es á saber, en cuántas leguas podeis llegar á aquellos lugares fertilísimos y de toda manera de especiería y de joyas y piedras preciosas: y no tengais á maravilla si yo llamo Poniente adonde nace la especiería, porque en comun se dice que nace en Levante, mas quien navegare al Poniente siempre hallará las dichas partidas en Poniente, é quien fuere por tierra en Levante siempre hallará las mismas partidas en Levante. Las rayas derechas que están en luengo en la dicha carta amuestran la distancia que es de Poniente á Levante; las otras que son de través amuestran la distancia que es de Septentrion en Austro. Tambien yo pinté en la dicha carta muchos lugares en las partes de India, adonde se podria ir aconteciendo caso de tormenta ó de vientos contrarios ó cualquier otro caso que no se espere acaecer, y tambien porque se sepa bien de todas aquellas partidas, de que debeis holgar mucho. Y sabed que en todas aquellas islas no viven ni tractan sino mercaderes, avisándoos que allí hay tan gran cantidad de naos, marineros, mercaderes con mercaderías, como en todo lo otro del mundo, y en especial en un puerto nobilísimo llamado Zaiton, do cargan y descargan cada año 100 naos, grandes de pimienta, alende las otras muchas naos que cargan las otras especierías. Esta patria es populatísima, y en ella hay

straight to the west the commencement of the Indies is shown, and the islands and places where you can deviate towards the equinoctial line, and by how much space, that is to say, in how many leagues you can reach those most fertile places, filled with all kinds of spices and jewels and precious stones: and you must not wonder if I call the place where spices grow, *West*, because it is commonly said that they grow in the *East*; but whoever will navigate to the West will always find the said places in the West, and whoever will go by land to the East will always find the same places in the East. The straight lines which are shown lengthwise on the said chart show the distance from West to East: the others which are across show the distance from North to South. Also I showed in the said chart many places in the regions of India which could be reached, in the event of some tempest or of contrary winds, or any other event which might not be expected to occur, and also in order that all those regions may be easily recognised,—and because of this you should be greatly pleased. And *know* that in all those islands only merchants live and traffic,—informing you that there is as great a quantity of ships, mariners, and merchants with merchandise there as in all the rest of the world, and especially in a most noble port called Zaiton, where every year 100 great

the same Latin original, and that it differed somewhat from the Columbus manuscript.

Litora vestra et insulae here means the shores of Portugal and the islands thereof—Azores and Cape Verde Islands. It cannot mean the shores of Africa discovered by the Portuguese, or the entire territory from Ireland to Guinea, with the multitudinous islands. A westerly course from such a description would be altogether too indefinite. Therefore the Latin text is much more sensible. Besides, that route was not to follow the road to Guinea, even for a little way, but was to begin at once in a westerly direction.

muchas provincias y muchos reinos y ciudades sin cuento debajo del señorio de un Príncipe que se llama Gran Khan, el cual nombre quiere decir en nuestro romance, Rey de los Reyes, el asiento del cual es lo más del tiempo en la provincia de Catayo. Sus antecesores desearon mucho de haber plática é conversacion con cristianos, y habrá doscientos años que enviaron al Sancto Padre para que enviase muchos sabios é doctores que les enseñasen nuestra fe, mas aquellos que él envió, por impedimento, se volvieron del camino; y tambien al Papa Eugenio vino un embajador que le contaba la grande amistad que ellos tienen con cristianos, é yo hablé mucho con él é de muchas cosas é de las grandezas de los edificios reales, y de la grandeza de los rios en ancho y en largo, cosa maravillosa, é de la muchedumbre de las ciudades que son allá é la orilla dellos, é como solamente en un rio son doscientos ciudades, y hay puentes de piedra mármol muy anchas y muy largas adornadas de muchas columnas de piedra mármol. Esta patria es digna cuanto nunca se haya hallado, é no solamente se puede haber en ella grandísimas ganancias é muchas cosas, mas aún se puede haber oro é plata é piedras preciosas é de todas maneras de especeria, en gran suma, de la cual nunca se trae á estas nuestras partes; y es verdad que hombres sabios y doctos, filósofos y astrólogos, y otros grandes sabios, en todas artes de grande ingenio, gobiernan la magnífica provincia é ordenan las batallas. Y de la ciudad de Lisboa, en derecho por el Poniente, son en la dicha carta 26 espacios, y en cada uno dellos hay 250 millas hasta la

ships are loaded and unloaded with pepper, besides the many other ships which are loaded with the other spices. This country is very populous, and in it there are many provinces and kingdoms and cities without number under the dominion of a Prince who is called the Great Khan, whose name means in our language, King of Kings, and whose residence during most of the time is in the province of Cathay. His ancestors wished very much to have intercourse and speech with the Christians, and about two hundred years ago they sent to the Holy Father, in order that he might send them many wise and learned men to teach them our faith, but those who were sent turned back from the journey because of impediments; and also an ambassador came to the Pope Eugene, who related to him the great friendship which they feel for the Christians, and I spoke much with him of many things; of the grandeur of the royal edifices, and of the great width and length of the rivers, a wonderful thing, and of the multitude of cities there on the banks of the rivers, and how there are two hundred cities on one river alone, and there are very wide and long bridges of marble ornamented with many marble columns. This country is as rich as any which may be found, and not only can great profit be obtained there and many things, but also gold and silver and precious stones and all kinds of spice can be obtained in great abundance, which are never brought to these, our regions; and it is true that wise and learned men, philosophers and astrologers and other men of great intelligence in all arts, govern the

nobilísima y gran ciudad de Quisay, la cual tiene al cerco 100 millas que son 25 leguas, en la cual son 10 puentes de piedra mármol. El nombre de la cual ciudad, en nuestro romance, quiere decir Ciudad del cielo; de la cual se cuentan cosas maravillosas de la grandeza de los artificios y de las rentas [este espacio es cuasi la tercera parte de la esfera], la cual ciudad es, en la provincia de Mango, vecina de la ciudad del Catayo, en la cual está lo más del tiempo el Rey, é de la isla de Antil, la que vosotros llamais de Siete Ciudades, de la cual tenemos noticia. Hasta la nobilísima isla de Cipango hay 10 espacios que son 2500 millas, es á saber, 225 leguas, la cual isla es fertilísima de oro y de perlas y piedras preciosas. Sabed que de oro puro cobijan los templos y las casas reales; así que por no ser conocido el camino están todas estas cosas encubiertas, y á ella se puede ir muy seguramente. Muchas otras cosas se podrian decir, mas como os tenga ya dicho por palabra y sois de buena consideracion, sé que no vos queda por entender, y por tanto no me alargo más, y esto sea por satisfacion de tus demandas quanto la brevedad

magnificent province and command the battles.¹ And from the city of Lisbon straight toward the West, there are on the said map 26 spaces and in each one of them there are 250 miles, to the most noble and great city of Quisay: this city is 100 miles in circumference, which are 25 leagues, and in it there are ten marble bridges. The name of this city in our language means City of Heaven: wonderful things are told of this city in regard to the magnificence of the workmanship and of the revenues [this space is almost the third part of the sphere].² It is in the province of Mango near the city of Cathay, in which the King resides most of the time,—and near the island of Antilia, which you call the *Seven Cities*, and of which we have knowledge. There are ten spaces to the most noble island of Cipango, which are 2500 miles, that is to say 225 leagues,³ which island is most fertile in gold and pearls and precious stones. Know that the temples and royal houses are covered with pure gold; therefore, because of the route being unknown, all these things are concealed; and they can very surely be reached. Many

¹ In the Latin manuscript in the hand of Columbus the date occurs at this point, and the remainder of the passage is treated as a post-scriptum.

It is worthy of note that both Ferdinand and Las Casas place the date at the end of the entire letter, as if they had made their copies from the same original, and that original *not* the Columbus manuscript.

² It is important to notice that Las Casas reports this phrase in the form of parenthesis. It certainly seems like an after-thought suddenly interjected into a story, or as something inserted by another person. Columbus, in inscribing the Latin letter in the *Historia*, writes down his idea of the distance *en passant*, and Las Casas, having all the writings of Columbus before his eyes, includes this as in the original letter, but apparently indicating by his parenthesis that Toscanelli is not to be charged with the phrase.

³ The reader will notice that the Latin version does not mention the number of miles in these ten spaces, which suggests an interpolation on the part of some copyist. Inasmuch as the Italian of Ferdinand and the Spanish of Las Casas both have these interpolations, it is believed they were taken from a common source. Again there is a manifest error in reducing 2500 miles to 225 leagues. This should be 625 leagues.

del tiempo y mis ocupaciones me han dado lugar; y así quedo muy presto á satisfacer y servir á S. A. cuanto mandare muy largamente. Fecha en la ciudad de Florencia á 25 de Junio de 1474 años."

other things could be told, but as I have already told you by word and you are possessed of good intelligence, I know that nothing remains for you to learn, and for that reason I do not write more at length. And this is to satisfy your demands as much as the brevity of the time and my occupations have permitted me; and thus I remain most ready to satisfy and serve his Highness in all that he commands me.'

"Done in the city of Florence June 25, 1474."

Las Casas then says: "Despues desta carta tornó él mismo otra vez á escribir á Cristóbal Colon en la manera siguiente":

"After this letter he wrote again to Christopher Columbus in the following manner":

"Á Cristóbal Columbo, Paulo, físico, salud:

"Yo rescibí tus cartas con las cosas que me enviaste, y con ellas rescibí gran merced. Yo veo el tu deseo magnífico y grande á navegar en las partes de Levante por las de Poniente, como por la carta que yo te invio se amuestra, la cual se amostará mejor en forma de esfera redonda, pláceme mucho sea bien entendida; y que es el dicho viaje no solamente posible, mas que es verdadero y cierto é de honra é ganancia inestimable y de grandisima fama entre todos los cristianos. Mas vos no lo podreis bien conocer perfectamente, salvo con la experiencia ó con la plática, como yo la he tenido copiosísima, é buena é verdadera informacion de hombres magníficos y de grande saber, que son venidos de las dichas partidas aquí en corte de Roma, y de otros mercaderes que han tractado mucho tiempo en aquellas partes, hombres de mucha

"To Christopher Columbus, Paul, the physician, greeting:

"I received your letters with the things which you sent me, and with them received a great favour. I perceive your magnificent and great desire to navigate in the Eastern regions by those of the West, as shown by the map which I send you, which will be better shown in the form of a round sphere. It pleases me greatly to be well understood: and that the said voyage not only is possible, but that it is true and certain and of inestimable honour and profit, and of very great renown among the Christians. But you cannot well know it perfectly except by experience and conversation, such as I have had in great quantity, and good and true information from distinguished men of great knowledge, who have come from the said regions here to the Court of Rome, and from other merchants who have traded during a long time in those regions, men of

auctoridad. Así que cuando se hará el dicho viaje será á reinos poderosos é ciudades é provincias nobilísimas, riquísimas de todas maneras de cosas en grande abundancia y á nosotros mucho necesarias, así como de todas maneras de especiería en gran suma y de joyas en grandísima abundancia. Tambien se irá á los dichos Reyes y Príncipes que están muy ganosos, más que nos, de haber tracto é lengua con cristianos, destas nuestras partes, porque grande parte dellos son cristianos, y tambien por haber lengua y tracto con los hombres sabios y de ingenio de acá, así en la religion como en todas las otras ciencias, por la gran fama de los imperios y regimientos que han destas nuestras partes; por las cuales cosas todas y otras muchas que se podrian decir, no me maravillo que tú que eres de grande corazon, y toda la nacion de portugueses, que han seido siempre hombres generosos en todas grandes empresas, te vea con el corazon encendido y gran deseo de poner en obra el dicho viaje."

[Las Casas, vol. i., pp. 92-96.]

great authority. So that when the said voyage is made it will be to powerful kingdoms and most noble cities and provinces, very rich in a great abundance of all kinds of things very necessary to us, as well as in all kinds of spices in great quantity and jewels in great abundance. The voyage will also be made to the said Kings and Princes, who are very desirous—more than we are—to have trade and intercourse with the Christians of these regions, because a great many of them are Christians: and also to have speech and intercourse with the learned and intelligent men here, as much about religion as about all the other sciences, because of the great renown of the empires and governments of these regions, among them. By reason of all which things and many others which could be told, it is not wonderful to me that you,—who have great courage,—and all the Portuguese nation, who have always been generous men in all great undertakings, are inflamed with a desire to undertake the said voyage."

Having given the Spanish copies of the Toscanelli letters, we here reproduce the Latin letter as found in the hand of Columbus, inscribed on the guard-leaf in the *Historia* of Pius II.:

"Copia misa christofaro colonbo per paulum fixicum cum vna carta nauigacionis.¹

"Copy (of a letter) sent to Christopher Columbus by Paul, the physician, with a map of navigation.

¹ It is not proposed to analyse the Latinity of this letter. The rude orthography and doubtful construction discovered in a few places are only too plain. If it purported to be an exact reproduction of Toscanelli's letter, such an analysis would be pertinent. We cannot believe that the polished Florentine scholar wrote the letter *verbatim et literatim* as we have it here. It may have been that Columbus was inscribing it in his example of the *Historia* of Pius II., from memory, in which case he would have retained the sentiments without the details of the letters in every word, or of the words in every phrase. It may be that the original Toscanelli letter was in the hands of some person who was reading it to Columbus, and that this person was as indifferent in his reading as Columbus was in his orthography. However this may

"Ferdinando martini canonico vlixiponensi Paulus, phisicus, salutem: de tua valitudine de gratia & familiaritate cum rege vestro generosissimo magnificcentissimo principe iocundum mihi fuit intelligere.

"Cum tecum alias locutus sum de breuiori via ad loca aromatum per maritimam nauigationem quam sit ea quam facitis per guineam querit nunc serenissimus rex a me quandam declaracionem ymo potius ad oculum ostensionem vt etiam medicriter doti illam viam caperent et intelligerent.

"Ego autem quamvis cognoscam posse hoc ostendi per formam sphericam vt est mundus tamen determinaui pro faciliiori intelligencia ac etiam pro faciliiori opere ostendere viam illam per quam carte nauigationis fiunt illud declarare.

"Paul, the physician, to Fernam Martins, Canon of Lisbon, greeting: It was agreeable to me to learn of your good health and of the favour and intimate friendship with your King, the most generous and illustrious Prince.

"I have at other times spoken with you concerning a shorter way to the lands of Spices, by a maritime voyage, than that which you are making by way of Guinea: now the most gracious King seeks from me some declaration, rather should I say an ocular demonstration, so that those with small learning may understand and take that route.

"But although I know that this may be demonstrated by a spherical form like the World, notwithstanding, I have determined, to facilitate its comprehension and to facilitate the work, to exhibit the route by such a map as the marine charts present.

be, there are one or two conclusions to be deduced from this letter in the form in which we here have it. First, it could not be, as we have already said, a verbatim transcript of the letter as it came from Paolo Toscanelli. While Learning had been sitting in shadow, while the African Latinity of Tertullian, Cyprian, and Augustine differed from that of the Augustan poets, and while this again had been diluted into ecclesiastical usages, there were some writers in the fifteenth century who produced *scripta dulcissima*. From what we read of Toscanelli we imagine he was one of these purists. It is, therefore, extremely unlikely that he wrote the letter as we have it. Again, Toscanelli himself may have dictated the letter to a careless writer. He says he made the map with his own hands,—*cartam manibus meis factam*,—but he may have employed an amanuensis in writing the letter. After the errors in orthography and grammatical construction are pointed out, there still remains, in our poor judgment, a strong, spirited, intelligible epistle, and we say with some degree of confidence that it is too good a letter to have been fabricated by a person who could make such egregious mistakes in spelling or writing.

The reader must compare this transliteration with the fac-simile of the letter as reproduced in our chapter on "The Handwriting of Columbus," and thus he may be able to supply a better and improved reading. The utmost care should be exercised in the consideration of inaccuracies. For instance, the reader will be likely to reject the use of *copia* with its modern meaning, yet if he will examine the *Ex quo Vocabularii*, printed at Eltville by Jean Veldener in 1477,—and in the very characters used by Gutenberg himself,—he will find this definition:

Copia est exempla. eyn abschrift. oder copey.

Christopher Columbus

"Mito ergo sue Maiestati cartam manibus meis factam in qua designantur litora vestra et insule ex quibus incipiat iter facere versus occasum semper & loca ad que debeatis peruenire & quantum a polo vel a linea equinoctiali debeatis declinare & per quantum spacium scilicet per quot miliaria debeatis peruenire ad loca fertilissima omnium aromatum & gemarum, & non miremini si voco occidentales partes ubi sunt aromata cum communiter dicantur orientales quia nauigantibus ad occidentem semper ille partes inueniuntur per subterraneas nauigationes. Si enim per terram et per superiora itinera add orientem semper reperirentur.

"linee ergo recte in longitudine carte signate ostendunt distanciam ab orientem versus occidentem que autem transuerse sunt ostendunt spacia a meridie versus septentrionem.

"notaui autem in carta diuersa loca ad que peruenire potestis pro maiori noticia nauigancium scilicet ventis vel casu aliquo alibi quam existimarent venirent partem autem ut ostendant incolis ipsos habere noticiam aliquam patrie illius quod debet esse iocundum satis non considant autem in insulis nisi mercatores.

"aserit ibi enim tanta copia nauigancium est cum mercimoniis ut in toto reliquo orbe non sint sicuti in vno portu nobilissimo vocato zaiton.

"Therefore I send to his Majesty a map made by my own hands on which are drawn your coasts and islands from which you should begin to make the journey ever toward the West and the places which you should reach, and how far from the Pole or from the equinoctial line you ought to diverge, and, of course, through how great a distance and through how many miles you ought to arrive at places most rich in every kind of spices and precious stones. And do not wonder if I call those regions the West where are the spices, which are commonly called the East, because to those sailing on expeditions to the lower hemisphere always following the West these regions will be found, and so to those going by land on expeditions through the upper hemisphere always toward the East, there they also will be discovered.

"And so the straight lines in the longitude of the drawn map exhibit the distance from the East toward the West, while the transverse lines exhibit the space from the south toward the north.

"I have also noticed on the map, for the better information of the expedition, the various places at which you may possibly arrive, if by reason of the winds or some other cause they should come elsewhere than where they calculated, and partly that they may show the inhabitants that they know something of their country, a thing which ought to be very pleasant. Merchants alone settle in those islands.

"It is said that so great is the number of navigators with their merchandise, that in all the rest of the world there are not so many as

aserunt enim centum naues piperis magne in eo portu singulis annis deferri, sine aliis nauibus portantibus alia aromata.

"patria illa est populatissima ditissima multitudine prouinciarum & regnorum & ciuitatum sine numero. sub vno principe qui dicitur magnus kan quod nomen significat in latino rex regum. cuius sedes & residencia est vt plurimum in prouincia katay.

"antiqui svi desiderabant consorcium christianorum iam sunt. 200. anni miscerunt ad papam & postulabant plurimos dotos in fide vt illuminarentur. sed qui missi sunt impediti in itinere redierunt.

"etiam tempore Eugenii venit vnus ad eugenium qui de beniuolentia magna erga christianos afirmabat & ego secum longo sermone locutus sum de multis, de magnitudine edificiorum regalium & de magnitudine fluuium in latitudine & longitudine mirabili et de multitudine ciuitatum in ripis fluuium vt in vno flumine. 200. e. ciuitates sint constitute et pontes marmorei magne latitudinis & longitudinis vndique colonpnis ornati.

"hec patria digna est vt per latinos queratur non solum quia lucra ingencia ex ea capi posunt auri et argenti gemarum omnis generis & aromatum que nunquam ad nos deferuntur. Verum propter doctos viros philosophos & astrologos peritos & quibus ingeniis & artibus ita potens & magnifica prouincia gubernentur ac etiam bella conducant.

in the most magnificent harbour called Zaiton. For they declare that a hundred ships, heavy with pepper, unload in this harbour each year, besides other ships loaded with different spices.

"That country is most populous, most rich in the multitude of provinces, of kingdoms and cities without number: under a Prince who is called the Great Khan, which name signifies in Latin, King of Kings: whose Court or Palace is for the most part in the province of Cathay.

"His predecessors desired intercourse with the Christians: it is 200 years since they sent to the Pope and sought many learned in the faith that they might be instructed; but those who were sent, hindered in the journey, returned.

"Also in the time of Eugene one came to Eugene who announced great good-will toward the Christians: and I spoke in long converse with him concerning many things, concerning the magnitude of the royal palaces and the great size of the rivers in wonderful breadth and in length, and concerning the number of cities on the banks of the rivers, so that on one river there are situated 200 cities and marble bridges of great width and length, and on all sides ornamented with columns.

"This country is worth seeking by the Latins, not only because great profits may be had from it, of gold and silver and precious stones of all kinds, and of spices which are not found among us: but as well on account of the learned men, philosophers, and skilled astrologers, and from whom we may learn with what manners and arts

Christopher Columbus

"Hec pro aliquantula satisf[ac]ione] ad tuam petitionem quantum breuitas temporis dedit & occupationes mee concepserunt paratus in futurum regie maiestati quantum volet latius satisfacere. Data florentie. 25. iunii. 1474.

"A ciuitate vlixiponis per occidentem indirecto sunt .26. spacia in carta signita quorum quolibet habet miliaria .250. vsque ad nobilissim[am] & maximam ciuitatem quinsay circuit enim centum miliaria & habet pontes decem & nomen eius sonat cita del cielo ciuitas celi & multa miranda de ea narrantur de multitudine artificium & de redditibus. hoc spacium est fere tertia pars totius spere. que ciuitas est in prouincia mangi scilicet vicina prouincia katay in qua residencia terre regia est.

"Sed ab insula antilia vobis nota ad insulam nobilissimam çippangu sunt decem spacia est enim illa insula fertilissima aur[o] margaritis & gemmis, & auro solido cooperiunt tenpla domos regias ita quod per ygnota itinera non magn[a] maris spacia transeundum. multa fortasse essent aperitus declaranda sed diligens considerator per hec poterit] ex se ipso reliqua prospicere. vale dilectissime."

so great and magnificent provinces are governed, as well as how wars are conducted.

"This much as some response to your request, as much as the brevity of the time admits and occupations permit me, ready for the future to satisfy more fully as much as his Majesty may wish.

"Done at Florence, June 25, 1474.

"From the city of Lisbon by the West in a direct line are drawn on the map 26 spaces, each of which has 250 miles as far as the most magnificent and mighty city of Quinsay. For the circuit is one hundred miles, and it has ten bridges, and the name of this city means *Cita del Cielo*—City of Heaven,—and many wonderful things are told of it concerning the multitude of its artifices and concerning its resources. This space is almost the third part of the whole sphere, which city is in the province of Mangi, or in the neighbourhood of the province of Cathay, in which land is the royal residence.

"But from the Island of Antilia known to you, to the most noble Island of Cipango are ten spaces: for this island is most rich in gold, pearls, and precious stones, and they cover the temples and palaces with solid gold: so that the spaces to be traversed on the sea by unknown journeys are not great. Perhaps many things might have been disclosed more clearly, but the diligent student of this will be enabled to discover the rest from his own resources. Fare thee well, most cherished friend."

The following is the Italian text of the Toscanelli letter as found in Ferdinand Columbus's *Historie*, printed at Venice in 1571, chapter viii., folio 16:

"A Fernando Martinez Canonico de
Lisbona Paolo Fisico salute:

"Molto mi piacque intendere la domestichezza, che tu hai col tuo Serenissimo, & Magnificentiss. Ré. &, quantunque molte altre volte io habbia ragionato del breuissimo camino, che è di quà all' Indie, dove nascono le specierie, per la via del mare, il quale io tengo piu breue di quel, che voi fate per Guinea, tu mi dici, che fua Altezza vorebbe hora da me alcuna dichiarazione, o demonstratione, accioche s'intenda, & si possa prendere detto camino. La onde, come ch' io fappia di poter ciò mostrarle con la sfera in mano, & farle veder, come fta il mondo; nondimeno ho deliberato per piu facilità, & per maggiore intelligenza dimostrar detto camino per vna carta, simile a quelle, che si fanno per nauigare. & cofi la mando a fua Maestà, fa ta, & difegnata di mia mano: nella quale è dipinto tutto il fine del Ponente, pigliando da Irlanda all' Austro infino al fin di Guinea con tutte le Isole, che in tutto questo camino giacciono; per fronte alle quali dritto per Ponente giace dipinto il principio dell' Indie con le Isole, & luoghi, dove potete andare: & per quanto dal Polo Artico vi potete difcoftare per la linea Equinottiale, & per quanto fpazio; cioè in quante leghe potete giungere a quei luoghi fertiliffimi d'ogni sorte di specieria, & di gemme, & pietre pretiofe. Et non habbate a marauiglia, fe io chiamo Ponente il paefe, ove nafce la specieria, la qual comunemente dicefi che nafce in Levante: percioche coloro, che nauigheranno al Ponente, fempre troveranno detti luoghi in Ponente; et quelli, che

"To Fernam Martins, Canon of Lisbon, Paul, the physician, greeting:

"It pleases me greatly to learn of your familiarity with your Most Serene and Most Magnificent King. And although many other times I have discoursed of the very short route from here to the Indies, where spices grow, by way of the sea, which I hold to be shorter than that which you follow to Guinea, you tell me that his Highness would now like from me some explanation or demonstration in order that he may understand and that he may be able to take the said route. Therefore, although I know that the world, as it is, could be shown to him with the sphere in hand, and he could be made to see it; nevertheless for greater facility and for greater intelligibility, I have decided to show the said route by a map similar to those which are made for navigation, and thus I send it to his Majesty, made and designed by my hand: on which all the end of the West is shown, from Ireland to the South as far as the end of Guinea, with all the islands which lie on all this route: in front of which, straight to the West, the commencement of the Indies is shown with the islands and places where you can go: and how much you can turn away from the Arctic Pole for the Equinoctial Line, and by how much space: that is to say in how many leagues you can gain those most fertile places, filled with all kinds of spices and gems and precious stones. And you must not wonder if I call the place where spices grow, *l'west*, which are commonly said to grow in the *East*: Since those who navigate

anderanno per terra al Leuante, fempres troueranno detti luoghi in Leuante. Le linee dritte, che giacciono al lungo in detta carta, dimostrano la distanza, che è dal Ponente al Leuante: le altre, che sono per obliquo, dimostrano la distanza, che è dalla Tramontana al Mezogiorno. Ancora io dipinfi in detta carta molti luoghi nelle parti dell' India, doue si potrebbe andare, auuenendo alcun cafo di fortuna, o di venti contrarii, o qualunque altro cafo, che non si aspettaffe, che doueffe auuenire. Et appreffo, per darui piena informatione di tutti quei luoghi, i quali defiderate molto conofcere, fappiate, che in tutte quelle ifole non habitano, ne praticano altri, che mercatanti; auuertendoui, quiui effere cofi gran quantità di naui, e di marinari con mercatantie, come in ogni altra parte del mondo, fpecialmente in vn porto nobiliffimo, chiamato Zaiton, doue caricano, & difcaricano ogni anno cento naui groffe di pepe, oltre alle molte altre naui, che caricano altre fpecierie. Questo paeſe è populatifimo, & fono molte prouincie, & molti regni, & città fenza numero fotto il dominio di vn Principe chiamato il Gran Cane, il qual nome vuol dire Re de' Re, la refidenza del quale la maggior parte del tempo è nella prouincia del Cataio. I ſuoi antecelfori defiderarono molto hauer pratica, & amicitia con Christiani, & già dugento anni mandarono Ambafciatori al fommo Pontefice, ſupplicandolo, che gli mandaffe molti faui, & dottori, che gl' infegnaffero la noſtra fede. Ma per gl' impedimenti, c' hebbero detti Ambafciatori, tornarono a dietro fenza arriuare a Roma. Et ancora a Papa Eugenio

to the West always find the ſaid places in the West; and thoſe who go by land to the Eaſt will always find the ſaid places in the Eaſt. The ſtraight lines which are ſhown lengthwiſe of the ſaid chart, ſhow the diſtance from Weſt to Eaſt. The other lines, which are oblique, ſhow the diſtance from North to South. I alſo ſhewed on the ſaid route many places in the regions of India, which could be reached in the event of a tempeſt, or of contrary winds, or any other event which might not be expected to occur. And then, in order to give you full information of all theſe places, which you greatly deſire to obtain, *know* that in all thoſe iſlands only merchants live and traffic, informing you that there is as large a quantity of ſhips there and of mariners with merchandiſe as in all other parts of the world, eſpecially in a moſt noble port called Zaiton, where every year 100 great ſhips are loaded and unloaded with pepper, beſides the many other ſhips which are loaded with other ſpices. This country is moſt populous and there are many provinces and many kingdoms and cities without number under the dominion of a Prince called the Great Khan, whoſe name means King of Kings, and whoſe reſidence during the greater part of the time is in the province of Cathay. His predeceſſors greatly deſired to have intercourſe and frienſhip with Chriſtians and about two hundred years ago they ſent ambaffadors to the Supreme Pontiff, begging him to ſend them many wiſe and learned men to teach them our faith. But becauſe of the impediments which the ſaid ambaffadors met with, they turned back

III. venne vno Ambasciatore, il quale gli raccontò la grande amicitia, che quei Principi, & i loro popoli hanno co' Christiani: & io parlai lungamente con lui di molte cose, & delle grandezze delle fabbriche regali, & della grossezza de' fiumi in larghezza, & in lunghezza. & ei mi disse molte cose marauigliose della moltitudine delle città, & luoghi, che son fondati nelle riue loro: & che folamente in vn fiume si trouano dugento città edificate con ponti di pietre di marmo, molto larghi, & lunghi adornati di molte colonne. Questo paese è degno tanto, quanto ogni altro, che si habbia trouato; & non solamente vi si può trouar grandissimo guadagno, & molte cose ricche; ma ancora oro, & argento, & pietre pretiose, & di ogni forte di specieria in grande quantità, delle quale mai non si porta in queste nostre parti. Et è il vero, che molti huomini dotti, Filosofi, & Astrologi, & altri grandi fauii in tutte le arti, & di grande ingegno gouernano quella gran prouincia, & ordinano le battaglie. Dalla città di Lisbona per dritto verso Ponente sono in detta carta ventifei spatii, ciascun de' quali contien dugento, & cinquanta miglia, fino alla nobilissima, & gran città di Quifai, la quale gira cento miglia, che sono trentacinque leghe; oue sono dieci ponti di pietra di marmoro. Il nome di questa città significa Città del cielo, della qual si narrano cose marauigliose intorno alla grandezza de' gl'ingegni, & fabbriche, & rendite. Questo spatio è quasi la terza parte della sfera. Giace questa città nella prouincia di Mango, vicina alla prouincia del Cataio, nella quale sta la maggior parte del tempo il Re. Et

without arriving at Rome. And also an ambassador came to Pope Eugene III. who told him of the great friendship which those Princes and their people felt for the Christians: and I spoke with him at length of many things, and of the grandeur of the royal edifices and of the great length and breadth of the rivers. And he told me many marvellous things of the multitude of the cities and places which are situated on the banks of the rivers: and that upon one river alone, 200 cities are situated with marble bridges very wide and long and adorned with many columns. This country is as rich as any other that can be found: and not only can very great profit be obtained there and many rich things: but also gold and silver and precious stones, and all sorts of spices in great quantity which are never brought to these, our regions. And it is true that many learned men, philosophers and astrologers and other great men, wise in all the arts and very intelligent, govern that great province and command the battles. From the city of Lisbon straight toward the West there are on the said chart 26 spaces, each one of which contains 250 miles, as far as the most noble and great city of Quinsay, which is 100 miles around, which are 35 leagues: where there are ten marble bridges. The name of this city signifies City of Heaven, of which many marvellous things are told in regard to the great genius of the inhabitants and the size of the buildings and the great revenues. This space is almost the third part of the sphere. This city lies in the province of Mango, near the province of

dall' Ifola di Antilia, che voi chiamate di Sette città, della quale hauete notitia, fino alla nobilissima ifola di Cipango sono dieci ipatii, che fanno due mila & cinquecento miglia, cioè dugento, & venticinque leghe: la quale Ifola è fertilissima d'oro, di perle, & di pietre pretiose. Et sappiate, che con piastre d'oro fino coprono i tempj, & le case regali. Di modo che, per non esser conosciuto il camino, tutte queste cose si ritrouano nascoste, & coperte: & ad essa si può andar sicuramente. Molte altre cose si potrebbero dire; ma, come io vi ho già detto à bocca, & voi sete prudente, & di buon giudicio, mi rendo certo, che non vi resta cosa alcuna da intendere: & però non farò più lungo. Et questo fia per fodisfattione delle vostre richieste, quanto la breuità del tempo, & le mie occupationi mi hanno concesso. Et così io resto prontissimo à fodisfare, & feruir sua altezza compiutamente in tutto quello, che mi commanderà. Da Fiorenza, a' XXV Giugno, dell'anno MCCCCLXXIII.

Cathay in which the King resides the greater part of the time. And from the Island of Antilia which you call *Seven Cities*, of which you have information, as far as the most noble Island of Cipango there are ten spaces which make 2500 miles, that is to say 225 leagues; which island is most fertile in gold, in pearls and in precious stones. And learn that they cover the temples and royal houses with plates of gold. Thus, because the way is not known, all these things are hidden and covered. And one can certainly go to these places. Many other things could be told you; but as I have already told you by mouth, and you are prudent and possessed of good judgment, it renders me certain that nothing remains for you to learn: and therefore, I do not write more at length. And this is to satisfy your requests as much as the brevity of the time and my occupations have permitted. And thus I remain most ready to satisfy and serve his Highness fully, in all that he commands me.

"From Florence, June 25, 1474."

CHAPTER XXXIX

THE IMPORT OF THE LETTER

THE reader will observe that while the letter of Toscanelli to Martins is dated at Florence, June 25, 1474, there is no date to the two letters written Columbus. But Toscanelli says that one of these letters is a copy of another letter:

Que ha dias yo escribi á un amigo y familiar del Serenisimo Rey de Portugal, antes de las guerras de Castilla: "Which a long time ago I wrote to a friend and familiar servant of the Most Serene King of Portugal, before the wars of Castile."

The idiomatic phrase, *ha dias*, has been made to read exactly the opposite from its true sense and interpreted to mean *a few days ago*. This phrase, in the Italian of Ulloa, which he translated from the Spanish of Ferdinand Columbus, reads as follows:

"Che alquanti giorni fa io scrissi ad un mio amico, domestico del serenissimo re di Portogallo, avanti le guerre di Castiglia,"

the sense being the same, including the idiomatic expression, *alquanti giorni fa*, "many days gone, a long time ago." In the wretched French translation of 1681—the second edition of this work to appear in any language—we read this passage:

"—*Que je fis ces jours passez à un de mes amis qui est un Roy de Portugal*"—

again preserving the idiomatic sense of a long period back and not "the last few days." There is no allusion to a war, or wars, with Castile in the French version. Some writers have been constrained to remove the comma in the Spanish version after *Rey de Portugal*, so that the sense would be that this friend of

Toscanelli held an official and household post *before* the wars of Castile.¹ We read this passage as saying that Toscanelli had already written to his friend Martins *before* the wars of Castile, which would carry with it the further meaning that his present letter to Christopher Columbus was composed and sent *since* the wars of Castile. We never characterise an international struggle between two people as the *war* or *the wars* until the conflict is ended. A disastrous conclusion to one side or the other might happen while a letter was *in transitu* between two correspondents. In that case the descriptive term might read *before the victorious conflict* or *before the sad defeat*. There were many internecine contests in Castile connected with the deposition of King Henry IV. in 1465² and the death of that Prince on December 11, 1474. But why should Toscanelli, writing to a correspondent in Portugal and believing that correspondent, as his letter plainly indicates, to be a Portuguese, refer to wars in which Portugal and the Portuguese had no part or interest? It seems to us that he is referring to a war in which Portugal and Castile were opposing forces, and such a war there was, following soon upon the death of Henry IV. of Castile, and continuing with more or less activity until a peace was signed at Alcantara, September 24, 1479. We may then assume that Columbus wrote by the hand of Lorenzo Girardi a letter to Paolo Toscanelli, and that the latter wrote a letter in reply a short time subsequent to September, 1479. This interpretation of the date would fall in with the entry in the *Historia* of Pius II., which we know was made previous to "*this era of 1481*," to quote a later entry in the same book, and occurring some six pages farther on in the book.

To reiterate the sources from which we draw our information

¹ The learned Jesuit, Abbé Ximénès, found the passage illuminated by this editing of his fellow Florentine's writing, and a distinguished American historian many years afterward suggested the same reading. Humboldt seems to have considered it necessary to adopt the reading of Abbé Ximénès.

² It was an act played by the King and his barons.

The nobility met in Old Castile, at Avila on the Adaja, some three and fifty miles north-west from the present capital of Madrid. Outside of the walls they erected a throne on which sat a mock figure of a king, clothed in royal robes, a sceptre in his hand and a sword by his side. If one makes one's own king, it is not so difficult to tear him from his throne and to set up another, and this is what the nobles proceeded to do. Don Alfonso, the brother of Henry IV., was proclaimed King in his stead, and, until the death of his brother in 1474, he was obliged to contest his throne.

of the Toscanelli letter or letters, we say there were six examples of this important letter:

First. The original holograph letter sent by Toscanelli to the Canon Martins, in reality for the benefit of King Alfonso, his master, and dated at Florence, June 25, 1474.

Second. The duplicate of the letter retained by Toscanelli, from which he was enabled to make a copy.

Third. The holograph copy in Latin which Toscanelli transmitted directly to Columbus with a short preamble, the date of such transmission being unknown.

Fourth. The Spanish translation of this copy which Las Casas had in his own hands. This translation is found in the *Historia*, which, as the reader knows, remained in manuscript from the time of Las Casas until the year 1875.

Fifth. The Italian translation made by Ulloa from a Spanish version incorporated by Ferdinand Columbus in his *Historie*.

Sixth. The Latin copy inscribed by Columbus on a guard-
folio of the *Historia Rerum Ubique Gestarum* of Pius II., printed at Venice in the year 1477.

Of these six copies the first three are lost. The sixth copy, while in the proper hand of Columbus, contains no word of the direct correspondence between him and Toscanelli. The fifth copy is a version in Italian, translated not by Ferdinand Columbus, but by another hand from the Spanish version prepared by Ferdinand for his book, and which appears to have been the same, or practically the same. But the preference must be given the Spanish version of Las Casas when we proceed to consider the entire correspondence, or such portions as have come down to us.

It is evident that Las Casas and Ferdinand did not make their copies from the Latin transcript in the book of Pius II. The final portion of the last is in the form of a post-scriptum, with the date and place of writing inserted before the post-scriptum. In both the Spanish and Italian versions the date and place of writing occur at the end. In the Latin transcript, Toscanelli says: "I therefore send to his Majesty a chart made by my own hands in which are drawn your shores and islands from which you are always to begin journeying toward the west." In the Spanish and Italian versions the passage reads: "I send it [chart] to his Highness made and drawn by my hand in which

all the end of the west is shown, from Ireland to the south as far as the end of Guinea, with all the islands which lie on that route." Manifestly these two versions, the Spanish and the Italian on the one hand and the Latin on the other, do not propose the same point of departure. The shores and islands of the Portuguese King are not the Canaries. Columbus is advised in the Latin version to direct his westward steps from where Toscanelli had already advised the King of Portugal to direct any expedition he might send out, due west from Portugal or from its islands. In the Spanish version Columbus is given the entire western boundary from the Irish Channel to the equator, from which he may depart on his westward journey. The last part of the Latin version may have been addressed to Columbus with as much propriety as to Martins. It seems to us that the map which Toscanelli said he sent the King, and a copy of which he also sent Columbus, would be much more apt to have had delineated on it a goodly reach of Europe's coast. On the other hand, it seems likely the directions for sailing to the westward would be given with Lisbon or the Portuguese island of Madeira for a point of departure. It was a definite point. It is true that the phrase, *litora vestra et insulæ*, might be read to include Portuguese acquisitions along Guinea, but this direction would not be as creditable to the intelligence of Toscanelli, nor in accordance with his geographical knowledge, by reason of the fact that the territories of the Great Khan lay considerably to the northward and not on the equator. Then, too, the great island possessions of Portugal in the fifteenth century far to the south had not yet been discovered. Behaim, on his great globe, inscribes the *Ilhas do Principe* and *S. Thomé* as discovered by the ships of the King of Portugal in 1484. The date of their discovery is probably earlier than 1484, but perhaps not previous to the date of Toscanelli's letter. Whoever translated the Latin letter into Spanish evidently paused to regard the map drawn by Toscanelli, and observing the great extent of coast line from Ireland on the north to somewhere near the equator on the south, concluded he would clear the matter by changing the phraseology of the Florentine philosopher.

We believe the source of the Spanish and Italian versions was the same. It is a matter of positive assurance that Las Casas had all the writings of Ferdinand Columbus relating to

his father before him when he composed and compiled the *Historia*. As the reader knows from our many quotations, Las Casas wrote notes or prepared portions of his work while still upon the island of Española. We must bear in mind that under date of January 13, 1493, in his copy of Columbus's *Journal*, Las Casas says fifty years had passed since those occurrences to the moment when he was then engaged in writing his work, the *Historia*, in which he was incorporating the *Journal*. This would fix the date of his writing as about 1542. It was probably after the death of Ferdinand Columbus that Las Casas came into possession of the former's manuscripts, as well as of the *Journal* and papers of the Admiral. A careful review of the Italian *Historie* and the correspondence of chapters in the *Historia* of Las Casas will disclose that certainly in the order of arrangement the latter followed Ferdinand. The very manner in which he refers to the writers and philosophers who influenced the Discoverer, his starting with Aristotle, and leading methodically and almost chronologically to Toscanelli, suggests the succession adopted by Ferdinand.

The fact that Toscanelli corresponded with Columbus depends not entirely on the evidence we have so far produced. Uzielli published a letter written by the Duke of Ferrara, under date of June 26, 1494, to Manfredo¹ Manfredi, Ambassador at the Court of Florence, in which the Duke says that Toscanelli "made known when he was living, some islands found in Spain, which appear to be the same ones now rediscovered."

¹ G. Uzielli, *Bollettino Della Societa Geografica Italiana*, 1889, page 866.

"Ad dominicum Manfredum.

"MESSER MANFREDO.—Intendendo nuy che il quondam mastro Paulo del Pozo à Thoscaneila, medico, fece nota, quando viveva, de alcune insule trovate in Spagna, che pare siano quelle medesime che al presente sono state ritrovate per advisi, che se hanno de quelle bande, siamo venuti in desiderio de vedere dicte note, se lo è possibile. et però volemo che troviati incontinente uno mastro Ludovico, nepote de epso quondam mastro Paulo, al quale pare che rimanesseno li libri suoi in bona parte et maxime questi, et che lo pregiati strictamente per nostra parte che l'voglia essere contento de darvi nota a punctino de tuto quello che'l se trova havere apresso lui de queste insule, perchè ne riceveremo piacere assai et ge ne restaremo obligati; et havuta che la haverite ce la mandereti incontinente. ma usàti diligentia per havere bene ogni cosa a compimento de quello se ha, sicome desideramo.

"FERRARIE. 26. iunii. 1494."

"To Master Manfredo.

"MESSER MANFREDO.—Understanding that the late Master Paolo dal Pozo à Thoscaneila, physician, made a note, while living, about some islands in Spain, which appear to be the same as those now re-discovered, according to intelligences which we have received about those regions, we have become desirous of seeing the said notes if it is possible, and we also wish you to find immediately a certain Ludovico, nephew of the late Master Paolo, to whom it appears he left his books in great part, and we desire that you pray him particularly in our behalf to be so kind as to give you the exact

What, then, is the true importance of the Toscanelli correspondence? It is evident from his first letter that sometime previous to the year 1474, long enough for the matter to be formulated and for descriptive charts to be carefully designed, Paolo Toscanelli had disclosed a means of reaching the land of spices by sailing out into the Atlantic Ocean in a direct westward course from Lisbon. But so had announced Pierre d'Ailly and Roger Bacon and Aristotle. The latter did not say from Lisbon the westward flight should be taken, but he said there was a very little ocean space between the coast of Spain and the beginning of India.

Paolo Toscanelli used Lisbon and Quinsay as the termini of his road. Aristotle said generally the road might be started on the Spanish shore, but the vessel would land on the eastern coast of India. Since the time of Aristotle there had been many travellers, and their tales were known to the Florentine philosopher. In reading his letters one is mindful of the ingenuity with which he dwells on two inviting prospects, the presence in Cathay and the acquisition by Europeans of gold, silver, jewels, and spices on the one hand, and the prospect of doing God a service by enlightening the Great Khan and his subjects. If Toscanelli had composed his letter to Martins with the ultimate purpose of having it fall into the hands of Columbus, he could not have constructed it more skilfully. It was just an expres-

note of all he may have in his possession regarding these islands, as we will be greatly pleased with such information and will be obliged to him for it. And having received this information, we desire you to send it to us at once: but use diligence to the end that all may be done exactly as we desire.

"FERRARA, June 26, 1494.

Raccolta, Part III., vol. i., p. 145.

Manfredo Manfredi was destined in 1489 to succeed Aldobrandino Guidoni as Ambassador to the Republic of Florence. The new Duke of Ferrara, Alfonso I. d'Este, recalled him in 1505 to send him to the Court of France. In 1509, he was charged with the mission of going to meet the King, Louis XII., who went down into Italy.

The archives have been searched in vain for the reply of Manfredi; nor was any information found in regard to the researches made among the charts left by Toscanelli.

The *Sfera* of Giovanni Sacrabosco, translated by Piervincenzio Dante dei Rinaldi, was published at Florence by the Giunti press in 1571. It did not issue from the press until November 1, 1571, and therefore the information could easily have been obtained from the *Historie*, which was published at Venice in the April previous, which enabled Piervincenzio to say in a note to chapter vii. of Book II. (completed in the year 1498) that he had "seen a copy of letters of the said Columbus written from Seville to the very learned and skilful mathematician, Paolo Toscanelli, which he has sent to me here by means of Messer Cornelia Randoli."

As Toscanelli died in 1482, we may consider the above passage as interpolated and therefore valueless.

sion of thoughts which had been in the brain of the Genoese, both in relation to its geographical and scientific details and to the hope opened him by a fellow thinker of accomplishing what many Popes and many wise men had failed to accomplish, the conversion to Christianity of the East.

It is not necessary to withhold from Toscanelli a share in the discovery of the New World. It is not necessary to say that it was only on reading his letters and beholding his charts that Columbus was fired with a desire to navigate westward. The truth, we believe, is that there already existed in the mind of Columbus as much knowledge concerning the ocean-seas and the possibility of reaching the Indies by them as there was in the mind of Toscanelli, but the latter was an acknowledged scientific authority, and his sure faith in the project increased and solidified that of his more practical correspondent.

There is one feature of the correspondence with Toscanelli we desire to speak of now, that the reader may carry its impression with him as he follows the third and fourth voyages of Columbus. This is the extravagant but exciting description of the lands, cities, castles, and riches of the East. Columbus could make no mistake when once he touched that fascinating and enchanted land. These populous countries were the brilliant objects to catch his eye. Royal palaces, marble bridges, embellished columns, were common objects not only on the mainlands, but on the islands. Let us remember by what signs Columbus was to recognise the country of the Great Khan, and then let us in due time ask ourselves if this great navigator died in the belief that what he had found was really Cathay or even its remotest outskirts.

We may conclude that whatever theories lay in the mind of the Florentine respecting the Indies, Columbus himself had well-defined views on the subject which he had communicated to Toscanelli, and which were in line with those the latter had formulated. Hence Columbus did not owe the suggestion of this proposed navigation entirely to the distinguished Florentine. Two minds, one by the Arno and the other by the Tagus, simultaneously were considering the same ideas and pressing them into practicable shape.

Again, it shows that the route to the Indies afterwards followed by Columbus was *not* marked upon the chart by

Toscanelli. Toscanelli drew a map with a sharp line, annotating with it the remark, "From the city of Lisbon"—where Columbus then was—"straight toward the west, there are on the said map, 26 spaces, and in each of them are 250 miles, to the most noble and great city of Quisay—Quinsay." This is the route marked out by Toscanelli, the philosopher. It was a straight course directly westward after coming out of the Tagus. But what route was taken by Columbus the sailor? He first made his way to the southward, and on each of his voyages his expedition started from the Canaries.¹

The route suggested by the Florentine lay in a *direct westerly course from Lisbon*,—the route followed by the Genoese lay in ten degrees of latitude farther south.²

¹ The reader will remember that on his third voyage, Columbus, with six ships, went straight to the Canaries, whence he directed three of his ships to Española. He himself went from the Canaries to the Cape Verde Islands, and afterward took a southerly parallel.

² The island of Antilia, which Toscanelli says was known to Martins,—he does not tell Columbus that the latter knew it,—was an imaginary island without location, and whose shores were never seen of men. When, therefore, the Florentine philosopher undertook to count his spaces westward from that island, he was indulging in a flight of fancy not creditable to his reputation. With something of the same indulgence, some writers have placed the island of Antilia in the same parallel as the Canaries, which is calculated to lead the reader to suppose that it was placed there by Toscanelli, and that Columbus was simply following a track marked out by a master when he turned his ship's head westward from Gomera.

That the Portuguese had long been seeking a road to the Land of Spices and that Toscanelli had relationship with the King of Portugal may be demonstrated.

Signor Uzielli quotes the following passage from the historian Piero Vaglienti, who died in 1514, and whose relations with bankers and merchants make his words peculiarly important:

" . . . and the principal cause and reason of such a work is a man learned in medicine, our Florentine, who, having spent much time in matters of astrology and the signs of the heavens, first saw that there was not a man upon the earth who would ever be able to work in this matter with greater convenience to carry out and put to successful issue such a voyage than his Majesty, the King of Portugal: and this was Master Paolo dal Pozzo Toscanelli, a very singular man, who advised one of our Florentines who was at the Court, named Bartolommeo Marchionio, of this affair and caused him to advise his Majesty of it: so that to-day he has done a work of such a nature as to be praised in all the world: and the spices which were accustomed to go to Cairo by way of the Red Sea, to-day are transported from there [the East] direct to Lisbon: so that the Sultan has taken in the year an income of 500,000 or 600,000 ducats, and the Venetians as much and everything has been brought to the port of Lisbon, a port and place belonging to his Majesty."³

CHAPTER XXXX

THE STORY OF THE PILOT

It was while living on the island of Porto Santo, or after his removal to Lisbon from that island, that tradition says Columbus met with and entertained in his own house a Pilot whose ship had been blown by a storm westwardly on the Atlantic to a land some ten days distant from whatever European ocean course he may have been following. There are two ways in which this legend has been treated, according as Columbus is idealised,—perhaps we should say idolised,—or as he is regarded with an unfriendly eye and his work disparaged. In the one view it is denied that any such occurrence ever took place. In the other it is accepted with such details as gave Columbus a marked route and a time-table. History does not hesitate to place an event in its true relation regardless of extreme views. It is possible that a mariner sailing on the Atlantic Ocean may have been driven by violent winds westwardly to some land. On the ninth day of March, in the year 1500, Pedro Alvarez Cabral set out from Lisbon for the Maluccas. When he approached that portion of the African coast where it trends eastwardly, he bore out to the west. Then a storm swept him farther out to sea, farther and farther west, until about April 24, he found himself on the coast of what to-day we call Brazil, and to which he gave the name *Terra Sanctæ Crucis*. What had unexpectedly, unintentionally happened to Cabral might easily have happened fifteen or twenty years before to some other mariner. Cabral, perhaps, was swept westwardly from, say, longitude 13° to 35° or 38° west. From the Canaries in longitude 13° to the island of Hayti are six and fifty degrees. Still, even this distance might have been traversed by a yielding boat

before a relentless wind. But if it was accomplished, the condition did not admit of mapping a course or establishing a western terminus for other vessels in subsequent times.

Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo published at Seville, in 1535, his *Historia General de las Indias*. In this work he narrates for the first time a story of a Pilot driven by a storm to an island in the Atlantic, far to the westward. This Pilot succeeded in returning to Europe, and was received by Christopher Columbus in his own house in the Portuguese island of Porto Santo of the Madeiras, where he died after having given Columbus his charts and journals. Oviedo finishes his tale with this remark:

“ Pero aquesta novela assi anda por el mundo entre la vulgar gente de la manera que es dicho. Para mí yo lo tengo por falso ” : “ But this story goes throughout the world among the common people in the manner which is told. *As for myself I think it false.* ”

The next writer, in the point of time of publication, who makes mention of this story is Francisco Lopez Gomara, who gave to the world his *Historia General de las Indias* at Saragossa in the year 1553. In this work the historian repeats the legend, but adds thereto some further information.

“ EL DESCUBRIMIENTO PRIMERO DE LAS YNDIAS.

“ Navegando una caravela por nuestro mar Oceano, tuvo tan foscoso viento de levante: y tan continuo qué fue á parar en tierra no sabido ni puesta en el mapa, ó carta de marear. Volvio de alla en muchos mas dias, que fué. Y quando aca llegó no traya mas de al piloto, y á otros tres, ó quatro marineros, que como venian enfermos de hambre, y de trabajo: se murieron dentro de poco tiempo, en el puerto. E aqui como se descubrieron les Yndias por desdicha de quien primero las vió, pues acabado la vida sin gozar dellos, y sin dezar, á lo menos sin aver memoria de como se llamaban, ni de donde era, ni que año las halló. Bien que no fué culpa suya, sino malicia de otros, ó invidia de la que llaman fortuna. Y no me maravillo de las historias antiguas, que cuentan hechos grandissimos por chicos, ó oscuros principios, pues no sabemos quien de poco aca halló las Yndias, que tan señalada: y nueva cosa es. Quedaranos, si quiera, el nombre de aquel piloto, pues todo lo al con la muerte fenesce. Unos hazen Andaluz á este piloto, que tratava en Canaria, y en la madera, quando le aconteció aquella larga, y mortal navegacion. Otros bizcayno: que contratava en Inglaterra, y francia. Y otros. Portugues, que, yva, ó venia dela Mina ó India. Lo cual quadra mucho con el nombre, que tomaron, y tienen

aquellas nuevas tierras. Tambien ay quien diga que aporto la caravela a Portugal. Y quien diga que á la Madera, ó á otra delas islas delos Açores. Empero ninguna afirma nada. Solamente concuerdan todos en que falleció aquel piloto en casa de Christoval Colon. En cuyo poder quedaron las escripturas dela caravela. Y la relacion de todo aquel luengo viaje con la marca, y altura delas tierras, nuevamente vistas, y halladas."¹

"THE FIRST DISCOVERY OF THE INDIES

"A caravel sailing on our Ocean-sea encountered such a powerful and continuous east wind that it was driven to take refuge in a land not known or placed on the map or navigators' chart. In returning from that land, it took a much longer time than was consumed in going. And when it arrived here it brought no more than the pilot and three or four other mariners, who, as they had become sick from hunger and from toil, died within a short time in the Port. And this is how the Indies were discovered through the misfortune of those who first saw them, since their lives were ended without enjoying the benefits of the discovery and without leaving, at least without possessing, a memorial as to what they were called, or where they were, or in what year they were found. However, it was not through their fault but through the malice of others, or the envy of what is called Fortune. And I do not marvel at the ancient writers, who recount very great deeds from little ones, or from obscure beginnings, since we do not know who, so short a time ago, found the Indies, which is such a new and remarkable thing. The name of this pilot does not even remain to us since all who were with him died. Some consider this pilot to have been an Andalusian, who was trafficking in the Canaries and in the Madeiras when that long and fatal voyage befell him. Others think he was a Biscayan who traded in England and France: and others a Portuguese, who was going to or coming from the Mine or India; which agrees very well with the name which those new lands took and now bear. There are also some who say that the caravel took shelter in Portugal and others say that it was in the Madeiras or some other island of the Azores. Nevertheless no one affirms anything. All agree only in the fact that that pilot died in the house of Christopher Columbus, in whose possession remained the papers belonging to the caravel and the relation of all that long voyage, with the description and the altitude of the lands newly seen and discovered."

Here is a long parallel on which to fix the point of departure of this Pilot, running from the English Channel to the Gulf of Guinea. Gomara treats the story as true. As a mere event, subject to the doctrine of chances, it is much more likely that

¹ Gomara, *La Historia de las Indias*, Part I., folio x.

some mariner going from San Jorg de Mina was driven to the coast of Brazil than that such a one should be carried from the Canary Islands to one of the Antilles.

Girolamo Benzoni published his *Historia del Nuevo Mundo* at Venice in 1565 and repeats the story as told by Gomara, but remarks, giving expression to the exact opinion we hold to-day, that Gomara has mingled much falsehood with some truth.

Antonio Herrera y Tordesillas published his work, *Historia General de los Hechos de los Castellanos*, at Madrid in 1601-15. Almost all subsequent historians have accorded him the highest praise for care, accuracy, and judgment.¹ But Herrera does not repeat the story nor make any reference to the legend.

About the time Herrera was publishing his work there appeared from the Lisbon press, in the year 1609,² a history com-

¹ It is strange that Washington Irving, in his *Notes and Corrections*, should openly declare that he frequently preferred to consult the manuscript history—the *Historia* was then in manuscript—of Las Casas, the source of Herrera's information, rather than Herrera himself, and then, on one of the most questioned and vexing subjects, not only fail to refer to Las Casas, but to actually report him as omitting all reference to this Pilot story. "The author," says Irving, "of the present work has frequently put aside the history of Herrera and consulted the source of his information, the manuscript history of Las Casas." "The other early historians who mention Columbus and his voyages and were his cotemporaries, viz., Sabellicus, Peter Martyr, Giustiniano, Bernaldez, Las Casas, Ferdinand Columbus, and the anonymous author of the *Voyage of Columbus*, are all silent in regard to this report." The fact is, that Las Casas gives more of the story and comments on it more at length than all the other early writers combined.

² The following is taken from *Primera Parte de los Comentarios Reales*, by the Inca, Garcilasso de la Vega, printed in Lisbon in the year 1609, constituting chapter iii., Part I., of his book:

"CAP. III

"COMO SE DESCUBRIO EL NUEVO MUNDO

"Cerca del año de mil y quatro cientos y ochenta y quatro uno mas ó menos, un piloto natural de la villa de Huelva en la cõdado de Niebla llamado Alonso Sanchez de Huelva, tenia un navio pequeño, con el qual contratava por la mar, y llevava de España a las Canarias algunas mercaderias, que alli se le vendian bien: y de las Canarias cargava de los frutos de aquellas islas, y las llevava a la isla de la Madera, y de alli se bolvia a España cargado de açucar y conservas. Andando en esta su triangular contrataciõ, atravesando de las Canarias a la isla de la Madera, le dió un temporal tan rezió y tempestuoso, que no pudiendo resistirle, se dexo llevar de la tormenta, y corrio veinte y ocho, ó veinte y nueve dias sin saber por donde, ni adonde: porque en todo este tiempo no pudo tomar al altura por el sol, ni por el norte: padescieron los del navio grandissimo trabajo en la tormenta, porque ni les dexava comer, ni dormir: al cabo deste largo tiempo se aplaco el viento, y se hallaron cerca de una isla: no se sabe de cierto qual fué, mas de que se sospecha que fué la que aora llaman Sancto Domingo: y es de mucha consideracion, que el viento que con tanta violencia y tormenta llevo aquel navio, no pudo ser otro, sino el Solano que llaman leste, porque la isla de Sancto Domingo esta al poniente de las Canarias: el qual viento en aquel viage, antes aplaca las tormentas, que las levanta. Mas el Señor todopoderoso, quando quiere hazer misericordias, saca las mas misteriosas y necessarias de causas contrarias, como saco el agua del pedernal, y la vista del ciego del lodo, que le puso en los ojos, para que notoriamente se muestren ser obras de la misceracion y

posed by an Inca, a native Peruvian, to whom we owe the most highly decorated account of this Pilot and his discovery yet printed. This Inca, Garcilasso de la Vega by name, declares that the Pilot was Alonso Sanchez of Huelva, that he was sailing from the Canaries to the Madeiras in the year 1484 when a storm arose, driving his ship to what was afterward called the island of Española; that he returned with five of his companions to the

bondad divina, que tambien uso desta su piedad para embiar su Evangelio, y luz verdadera á todo el nuevo mundo, que tanta necesidad tenia della, pues vivian, ó por mejor decir perescian en las tinieblas de la Gentilidad, é idolatria, tan barbara y bestial, como en el discurso de la historia veremos. El piloto salto en tierra, tomo el altura, y escrivo por menudo todo lo que vio, y lo que se sucedio por la mar, á ida, y á buelta, y aviendo tomado agua y leña, se bolbio atento, sin saber el viaje tampoco á la venida, como á la ida: por lo qual gasto mas tiempo del que le convenia: y por la dilacion del camino les faltó el agua, y el bastimento, de cuya causa, y por el mucho trabajo que á ida y venida avian padescido, empearon á enfermar y morir de tal manera, que de diez y siete hombres que salieron de España, no llegaron á la Tercera mas de cinco, y entre ellos el Piloto Alonso Sanchez de Huelva, fueron á parar á casa del famoso Christoval Colon Ginoves, porque supieron que era gran piloto, y cosmographo, y que hazia cartas de marear. El qual los recibio con mucho amor, y los hizo todo regalo, por saber cosas acaescidas en tan extraño y largo naufragio, como el que dezian aver padescido. Y como llegaron tan descaecidos del trabajo pasado, por mucho que Christoval Colon les regalo, no pudieron bolver en si, y murieron todos en su casa, dexandole en erencia los trabajos que les causaron la muerte: los quales acepto el gran Colon con tanto animo y esfuerzo, que aviendo sufrido otros tan grandes, y aun mayores (pues duraron mas tiempo) salio con la empresa de dar el nuevo mundo y sus riquezas á España, como lo puso por blason en sus armas, diciendo: A Castilla y a Leon, nuevo mundo dio Colon. Quien quisiere ver las grandes hazanas deste varon, vea la historia general de las Indias, que Francisco Lopez de Gomara escrivio, que alli la hallara, aunque abreviadas: pero lo que mas loa y engrandescie a este famoso sobre los famosos, es la misma obra desta conquista, y descubrimiento. Yo quise añadir esto poco que faltó de la relacion de aquel antiguo historiador, que como escrivo lexos de donde acaecieron estas cosas, y la relacion se la davan yentes y vinientes, le dixerón muchas cosas de las que passaron, pero imperfectas, y yo las oy en mi tierra á mi padre y á sus contemporaneos: que en aquellos tiempos le mayor y mas ordinaria conversacion que tenían, era repetir las cosas mas hazanosas y notables que en sus conquistas avian acaescido: donde contavan la que hemos dicho, y otras que adelante diremos: que como alcançaron á mucho de los primeros descubridores, y conquistadores del nuevo mundo, huvieron dellos la entera relacion de semejantes cosas, y yo como digo las oy á mis mayores, aunque (como muchacho) con poco atencion, que si entonces la tuviera, pudiera aora escribir otras muchas cosas de grande admiracion, necessarias en esta historia, dire las que huviere guardado la memoria, con dolor de las que ha perdido. El muy reverendo padre Joseph de Acosta toca tambien esta historia del descubrimiento del nuevo mundo, con pena de no poderla dar entera, que tambien faltó á su paternidad parte de la relacion en este passo, como en otros mas modernos: porque se avian acabado ya los conquistadores antiguos, quando su paternidad passo á aquellos partes, sobre lo cual dize estas palabras libro decimo capitulo diez y nueve. Aviendo mostrado que no lleve camino pensar que los primeros moradores de Indias ayan venido á ellas con navegacion, hecha para esse fin, bien se sigue, que si vinieron por mar, aya sido á caso y por fuerza de tormentas el aver llegado á Indias, lo qual por imenso que sea el mar Oceano, es cosa increyable. Porque pues assi succedio en el descubrimiento de nuestros tiempos, quando aquel marinero (cuyo nombre aun no sabemos, para que negocio tan grand no se atribuya á otro autor sino á Dios) aviendo por un terrible & importuno temporal reconocido el nuevo mundo, dexó por paga del buen hospedaje á Christoval Colon la noticia de cosa tan grande. Assi pudo ser. &c. Hasta aqui es del Padre maestro Acosta sacado á la letra: donde muestra aver hallado su paternidad en el Peru parte de nuestra relacion, y aunque no toda, pero lo mas esencial della. Este fué el primer principio y origen del descubrimiento del nuevo mundo, de la qual grandeza podia loarse la pequeña villa de Huelva, que tal hijo crio, de cuya relació certificado Christoval Colon, insistio tanto en su demanda, prometiendo cosas nunca vistas, ni oydas, guardando como hombre prudente el secreto dellas, aunque debaxo de confianza dio cuenta dellas á algunas personas de mucha autoridad, acerca de los Reyes Catholicos, que le ayudaron

island of Terceira in the Azores, where he was received by Christopher Columbus in his own house.

This account, given by Garcilasso de la Vega, was written more than three generations after the time of the alleged occurrence. The reader already knows enough of the life of Columbus to readily determine the falsity of some of its details.

a salir con su empresa, que sino fuera por esta noticia, que Alonso Sanchez de Huelva le dio, no pudiera de sola su imaginacion de cosmographia prometer tanto y tan certificado como prometio, ni salir tan presto con la empresa del descubrimiento, pues segun aquel Autor, no tardo Colon mas de sesenta y ocho dias en el viage hasta la isla Guanatanico, con detenerse algunos dias en la Gomera a tomar refresco, que sino supiera por la relacion de Alonso Sanchez que rumbos avia de tomar en un mar tan grande, era casi milagro aver ido alla en tan breve tiempo."

"CHAPTER III

"HOW THE NEW WORLD WAS DISCOVERED

"About the year 1484, one year more or less, a pilot named Alonso Sanchez de Huelva, a native of the village of Huelva, in the county of Niebla, had a small ship, with which he traded upon the sea, and carried merchandise from Spain to the Canaries, which was sold there to good advantage: and at the Canaries he loaded his vessel with the fruits of those islands and carried them to the island of Madeira, and from there he returned to Spain laden with sugar and conserves. While making his triangular trading voyage, in crossing from the Canaries to the island of Madeira, he was assailed by such a powerful and tempestuous storm, that, not being able to resist it, he abandoned himself to the tempest, and ran twenty-eight or twenty-nine days without knowing in what direction or whither: because in all that time he could not take the altitude by the sun nor by the North. The crew of the ship underwent great hardships in the tempest, as they were not able to eat or sleep. At the end of this long time the wind calmed and they found themselves near an island. It is not known positively what island it was, but it is suspected that it was the island now called Santo Domingo. And it is worthy of much consideration that the wind which drove that vessel with so much violence and in such a storm could not have been other than the *Solano*, which the east wind is called, because the island of Santo Domingo is to the west of the Canaries, and this wind quiets the tempests rather than raises them, on that course. But the All-powerful God when He desires to dispense mercies brings the most mysterious and necessary things from contrary causes, as He drew water from the rock, and the sight of the blind from mud which He placed on their eyes, in order that they may notably be shown to be the works of the Divine commiseration and goodness: and as He also manifested His pity by this event, in order to send His Gospel and true light to all the New World, which needed it so greatly. For they were living there, or to speak more plainly, they were perishing in the darkness of heathenism and idolatry, barbarous and bestial to such extent as we shall see in the course of the history. The pilot landed, took the altitude and wrote minutely all that he saw and all that happened to him upon the sea, in going and returning, and having taken water and wood, he turned backward without having more knowledge of the course in coming than he had in going. On this account he spent more time on his return than was necessary. And through the lengthening of the voyage provisions failed them, for which cause and on account of the great hardships they had suffered in going and coming, they commenced to fall sick and to die, to such an extent that out of seventeen men who started from Spain, not more than five arrived at Terceira, and among them was the pilot, Alonso Sanchez de Huelva. They went to stay in the house of the famous Christopher Columbus, a Genoese, because they knew that he was a great pilot and cosmographer and that he made sailing charts. Columbus received them very kindly and entertained them all, in order to learn the things which had happened on such a long and strange shipwreck as the one they said they had suffered. And as they arrived in such a shattered condition, notwithstanding all that Columbus did for their entertainment, they could not be restored to health, and all died in his house, leaving him to inherit the fruit of the labours which caused their deaths. Columbus accepted this inheritance with great strength and courage, and

Columbus never lived at Terceira, and, according to his own words,¹ he was in Portugal in 1484 and 1485. Moreover, in 1484 he already had corresponded with Toscanelli, so that any experience of a Huelvian Pilot could not have affected his purpose of sailing westward.

having suffered other hardships as great and even greater (since they lasted longer), he set out with the undertaking of giving the New World and its riches to Spain, according as it was blazoned on his arms, saying:

"TO CASTILE AND TO LEON, COLUMBUS GAVE A NEW WORLD."

"Let whoever wishes to learn of the great deeds of this illustrious man read the *General History of the Indies* which Francisco Lopez de Gomara wrote, as they will be found there, although abbreviated. But what most praises and magnifies this most famous of famous men is the work of this conquest itself and the discovery. I desired to add this small part which is lacking from the relation of that ancient historian, who wrote at a distance from the place where these things happened, and the relation being given to him by those who were going and coming, they told him many things of those which happened but imperfectly, and I heard them in my country from my father and his contemporaries. For in those times the greatest and most common conversations they held were to repeat the most heroic and notable things which had happened in their conquests, where they related what we have told and other things which I will tell hereafter. For as they knew many of the first discoverers and conquerors of the New World they had from them the entire relation of similar things. And I, as I say, heard them from my elders, although (being a boy) with little attention. And if I had paid attention then, I could now write many other things greatly to be admired and necessary in this history. I will tell what my memory has retained, with regret for what has been lost.

"The very learned father, Joseph de Acosta, also treats of this history of the discovery of the New World, with this defect, that he cannot give it entire, as his work is also lacking in part of the relation contained in this passage, the same as other more modern ones, for the old conquerors had already passed away when Father Joseph went to those regions. In regard to this matter he says these words in Book X., chapter nineteen:

"Having shown that there are no grounds for thinking that the first inhabitants of the Indies came there by means of a voyage made for that purpose, it necessarily follows that if they came by the sea, it must have been caused by the force of tempests that they arrived at the Indies, which, however immense the Ocean-sea may be, is not an incredible thing. For it happened thus in the discovery of our times, when that sailor (whose name even we do not know, that so great an affair may not be attributed to any other than God), having by means of a terrible and persistent tempest reached the New World, left in payment for the good hospitality of Christopher Columbus, the knowledge of so great a thing. It may be so, etc."

"Up to this point it is literally quoted from the father Acosta, from which it is shown that the father found part of our relation in Peru, although not all of it, yet the most essential part. This was the first beginning and origin of the discovery of the New World, of which greatness the little town of Huelva can boast, having produced such a son, on account of whose certified relation Christopher Columbus insisted so much in his demand, promising things never seen nor heard, but guarding their secret like a prudent man; although, in confidence he gave an account of them to some persons of great authority and near to the Catholic sovereigns, who aided him in starting upon his undertaking. For if it had not been for the information which Alonso Sanchez de Huelva gave him, he could not from his imagination of cosmography alone have promised so much and so positively as he did promise it, nor could he have so quickly carried out the undertaking of the discovery. For, according to that author, Columbus was not more than 68 days on the voyage to the island of Guanatanico, including a stop of some days on Gomera to take supplies, and if he had not known from the relation of Alonso Sanchez what courses he was to follow on such a great sea, it was almost a miracle to have gone there in so short a time."

¹ Doctor Josephus returned from his scientific visit to the coast of Africa in 1485, and Columbus, in his holograph note on the margin of one of the folios in the example of the *Historia* of Æneas Sylvius, declares he was present in Lisbon when the expedition returned.

The most full treatment given the story will be found in the *Historia* of Las Casas:

“ Resta concluir esta materia de los motivos que Cristóbal Colon tuvo para ofrecerse á descubrir estas Indias, con referir una vulgar opinion que hobo en los tiempos pasados, que tenia ó sonaba ser la causa más eficaz de su final determinacion, la que se dirá en el presente capitulo, la cual yo no afirmo, porque en la verdad fueron tantas y tales razones y ejemplos que para ello Dios le ofreció, como ha parecido, que pocas dellas, quanto más todas juntas, le pudieron bastar y sobrar para con eficacia á ello inducirlo: con todo eso quiero escribir aquí lo que comunmente en aquellos tiempos se decia y creia y lo que yo entonces alcancé, como estoviese presente en estas tierras, de aquellos principios harto propincuo. Era muy comun á todos los que entónces en esta Española isla viviamos, no solamente los que el primer viaje con el Almirante mismo y á D. Cristóbal Colon á poblar en ella vinieron, entre los cuales hobo algunos de los que se la ayudaron á descubrir, pero tambien á los que desde á pocos dias á ella venimos, platicarse y decirse que la causa por la cual el dicho Almirante se movió á querer venir á descubrir estas Indias se le originó por esta via. Dijose, que una carabela ó navio que habia salido de un puerto de España (no me acuerdo haber oido señalar el que fuese, aunque creo que del reino de Portugal se decia) y que iba cargada de mercaderias para Flandes ó Ingalaterra, ó para los tractos que por aquellos tiempos se tenian, la cual, corriendo terrible tormenta y arrebatada de la violencia é impetu della, vino diz que, á para á estas islas y que aquesta fué la primera que las descubrió. Que esto acaesciese así, algunos argumentos para mostrarlo hay: el uno es, que á los que de aquellos tiempos somos venidos á los principios, era comun, como dije, tractarlo y platicarlo como por cosa cierta, lo cual creo que se derivaria de alguno ó de algunos que lo supiesen, ó por ventura quien de la boca del mismo Almirante ó en todo ó en parte ó por alguna palabra se lo oyere; el segundo es, que entre otras cosas antiguas, de que tuvimos relacion los que fuimos al primer descubrimiento de la tierra y poblacion de la isla de Cuba (como cuando della si Dios quisiere, hablaremos, se dirá) fué una esta, que los Indios vecinos de aquella tuvieron ó tenian de haber llegado á esta isla Española otros hombres blancos y barbados como nosotros, ántes que nosotros no muchos años: ésto pudieron saber los indios vecinos de Cuba porque como no diste más de diez y ocho leguas la una de la otra de punta á punta, cada dia se comunicaban con sus barquillos ó canoas, mayormente que Cuba sabemos, sin duda, que se pobló y poblaba desta Española. Que el dicho navio pudiese con tormenta deshecha (como la llaman los marineros y las suele hacer por estos mares) llegar á esta isla sin tardar mucho tiempo, y sin faltarlas las viandas y sin otra dificultad, fuera del peligro que llevaban de poderse finalmente perder, nadie se mara-ville, porque un navio con grande tormenta corre 100 leguas, por pocas y bajas velas que lleve, entre dia y noche, y á arbol seco, como dicen los marineros, que es sin velas, con sólo el viento que cogen las jarcias y masteles y cuerpo de la nao, acaece andar en veinticuatro horas 30 y 40 y 50 leguas,

mayormente habiendo grandes corrientes, como las hay por estas partes: y el mismo Almirante dice, que en el viaje que descubrió á la tierra firme hácia Paria, anduvo con poco viento desde hora de misa hasta completas 65 leguas, por las grandes corrientes que lo llevaban: así que no fué maravilla que, en diez ó quince días y quizá en más, aquellos corriesen 1000 leguas, mayormente si el impetu del viento Boreal ó Norte les tomó cerca ó en paraje de Bretaña ó de Inglaterra ó de Flandes . . .

“Así que, habiendo descubierto aquellos por esta vía estas tierras, si así fué, tornándose para España vinieron á parar destrozados; sacados los que, por los grandes trabajos y hambres y enfermedades, murieron en el camino, los que restaron, que fueron pocos y enfermos, diz que vinieron á la isla de la Madera, donde también fenecieron todos. El piloto del dicho navío, ó por amistad que ántes tuviese con Cristóbal Colon, ó porque como andaba solícito y curioso sobre este negocio, quiso inquirir dél la causa y el lugar de donde venia, porque algo se le debía de traslucir por secreto que quisiesen los que venian tenerlo mayormente viniendo todos tan maltrados, ó porque por piedad de verlo tan necesitado el Colon recoger y abrigarlo quisiese, hobo, finalmente de venir á ser curado y abrigado en su casa, donde al cabo diz que murió: el cual, en reconocimiento de la amistad vieja ó de aquellas buenas y caritativas obras, viendo que se quería morir descubrió á Cristóbal Colon todo lo que les habia acontecido, y dióle los rumbos y caminos que habian llevado y traído, por la carta de marear y por las alturas, y el paraje donde esta isla dejaba ó habia hallado, lo cual todo traía por escrito. Esto es lo que se dijo y tuvo por opinion, y lo que entre nosotros, los de aquel tiempo y en aquellos días comunmente, como ya dije, se platicaba y tenía por cierto, y lo que, diz que, eficazmente movió como á cosa no dudosa a Cristóbal Colon.”

“There remains, to conclude this matter of the motives which induced Christopher Columbus to attempt the discovery of the Indies, the reference to an opinion common in times past, which *was*, or was reported to be, the most efficacious cause of his final determination, and which will be told in the present chapter. I do not affirm this to be so, because in truth, God offered him such reasons and so many of them, as has appeared, that a few of them, and, moreover, all of them together, would have been sufficiently powerful and more than that, to induce him to do it. Nevertheless I wish to write here what was commonly said and believed in those times, and what I then heard, as I was present in those countries,—in regard to the principal motives. It was very common to all of us who then lived on this island of Española, not only those who came on the first voyage with the Admiral himself, and with Don Christopher Columbus to settle on the island,—among the latter of whom there were some who helped him to make the discovery,—but also to those who a short time after came to the island, to talk over and say that the cause which moved the said Admiral to desire to come and discover these Indies originated in this wise: *

“It was said that a caravel or ship which had departed from a port of Spain (I do not remember to have heard it specified from which port it was, although I believe it was said to have been in the kingdom of Portugal),

* Las Casas, *Historia*, vol. i., chap. xiv.

and which was loaded with merchandise for Flanders or England, or for the traffic which was carried on in those times, experienced a terrible tempest, and being carried away by its violence and impetus, it is said that it came to stop at these islands, and that this was the first discovery of them. There are some arguments to show that this might have happened in this manner: one is that it was common to those of us who came here in the beginning, as I have said, to discuss it and treat it as a certain thing, which I believe must have been derived from some person or persons who knew it, or perhaps from some one who heard it from the mouth of the Admiral himself, either as a whole or in part: the second is that among other ancient things which were related to those of us who went to the first discovery of the land and settlement of the island of Cuba (as will be told when, God willing, we speak of it) there was this,—that the Indian inhabitants of Cuba maintained that other white and bearded men like ourselves had arrived at this island of Española, not many years before us. The Indians of Cuba could have known this, because as they are not distant one from the other, from point to point, more than eighteen leagues, they communicate each day with their little boats or canoes, and especially as Cuba we know without doubt was settled from this Española. That the said ship might in a violent tempest (as the sailors call it, and which are customary in these seas) have arrived at this island without great delay, without the provisions giving out and without other difficulty outside of the danger they experienced of being lost finally, is in no way wonderful, because a ship in a great tempest runs 100 leagues between day and night, however few and low sails she may carry and 'á arbol seco,' as the sailors say, which is without sails, with only the wind which the shrouds and masts and body of the ship catch, and in twenty-four hours it may happen to go 30 and 40 and 50 leagues, particularly when there are great currents, as there are in these parts. And the Admiral himself says that on the voyage when he discovered the continental land towards Paria he went in a light wind from the hour of 'misa' to the hour of 'completas' 65 leagues, on account of the great currents which prevailed. So that it was not wonderful that in ten or fifteen days and perhaps more, this caravel should have gone 1000 leagues, especially if the impetus of the north wind took them near or in line with Britain or England, or Flanders. . . .

"Therefore, the people on this caravel having in this way discovered these countries, *if it was so*,¹ in returning to Spain stopped in a shattered condition. Counting out those who, on account of the great labours, hunger, and infirmities, died on the way, those who remained, who were very few and sick, it is said came to the island of Madeira, where they all died also. The pilot of the said ship, either because of a friendship which he might have had previously for Christopher Columbus, or because, as Columbus was becoming solicitous and curious about this matter, he wished to inquire of the pilot the cause of his coming and the place from whence he came, as he must have conjectured something on account of the secrecy

¹ The italics are ours and invite attention to the fact that Las Casas himself does not accept the story as true.

which the people who came there wished to maintain in regard to it, especially seeing them so ill-used, or because Columbus, on seeing him in such necessity, might have wished, through pity, to receive and shelter him, at last came to be cared for and protected in his house; where it is said that he finally died. And the pilot in recognition of old friendship, or of those good and charitable works, seeing that he was about to die, made known to Christopher Columbus all that had happened, and gave him the courses and routes which they had followed and maintained, by the chart of navigation and by the latitudes, and the place where he left this island or had found it, which he had all in writing. This is what was told and held as an opinion, and what among ourselves in those days, was, as I have said, commonly talked about and considered certain, and, it is said, is what moved Christopher Columbus as to a thing concerning which he had no doubt. . . ."

The acquiescence of Bartolomé de las Casas in the legend of the Pilot is sufficient to justify us in accepting the abstract fact that there was current a legend or story to the effect that a mariner did report to Columbus, while the latter was still in Portuguese territory and prior to his first going into Spain, that he had been driven to some westward land by chance and a storm. But we may doubt if that land was one of the Antilles or land farther west than some rocks already known. If such a thing really did occur, we doubt if the Pilot preserved and presented to Columbus a chart or map of his unexpected voyage. And further, we may safely take it out from among those direct reasons which led to the formation of his purpose, or of those defined causes which resulted in the great discovery.

The only detailed account of this Pilot and his adventures—that given by Garcilasso de la Vega, written one hundred and twenty-five years after the alleged occurrence—is an account manifestly untrue and easily disproved. The Pilot was going from the Canaries when he was driven helplessly to the island of Española. When he left Española the Pilot sailed to the island of Terceira in the Azores. According to the legend, he made a map of his course. Now, he could not have made a single intelligible mark on his way, amid storm and tempest. When he reached Española, assuming that he had the knowledge and the instruments, he might have taken its bearings, and in like manner he might have plotted a course back by way of the Azores. But this is not the road Columbus followed. He sailed first for the Canaries and from there to the west. If, therefore, he owed his knowledge to the strange Pilot,

Columbus did not avail himself of his directions in reaching his landfall.

If the Pilot had possessed instruments enabling him to find his locations and to plot his homeward course, would he not have discovered the erratic conduct of the magnetic needle and would not such a strange thing, even if not immediately revealed to the scientific world, have been whispered in connection with the story and have thus been incorporated in the legend? Would he not have told of the mysterious sea of grass which so frightened the sailors, when under Columbus the three vessels found themselves impeded by the Sargasso Sea?

Christopher Columbus never lived in the island of Terceira, and therefore the Pilot could not have been received by him there or have died in his house. Las Casas indicates that quite a time elapsed between the return of the Pilot and his death in the house of Columbus. His companions died from the exposure they had experienced, but the Pilot himself, says Las Casas, "at last came to be cured and protected in his [Columbus's] house, where it is said he *finally* died." If the Pilot only was starting on his voyage in 1484, and afterward experienced all his adventures, we must imagine a somewhat extended period covering his return, his illness, his restoration to health, and his subsequent residence in the house of Columbus until his death. In 1484 and 1485, Columbus was in Lisbon. Everything we know of Columbus points to his possession of a fixed purpose regarding a trans-Atlantic voyage prior to 1484, and a fixed purpose suggests a previous period of study and thought. Omitting the Toscanelli correspondence, the date of the Pilot story is too late a period to have the semblance of truth, at least in so far as it affected Columbus or furnished him a reason for his project. But let us inquire how it was possible for six men—the Pilot and five companions—to have undergone such adventures and returned safely to a sympathetic community acquainted with and interested in maritime affairs, and no note be taken of them or of their strange experiences, except as it was sustained upon the light wing of rumour. When, under like unexpected circumstances, Cabral was blown over to the coast of Brazil, the world knew it directly upon his return. The experience of the Pilot was an adventure likely to be told from mouth to mouth in Terceira and carried away by the first vessel bound for Lisbon or Cadiz.

If any such Pilot had landed by design or accident on unknown shores, he would have taken possession of them in the name of his sovereign. If a Pilot of Huelva, he would have reported the discovery to the Spanish sovereigns, and the new lands would have become Spanish territory. If the Pilot was a Portuguese, he would have forwarded the news to Lisbon and King John II. would have laid claim to them. The Pilot and his five companions did not long survive, it is true, but there was no need of secrecy, and the very appearance of the six men must have excited inquiry and elicited their story. Once told, the world would have known it. Once told, the strange tale would have found its way to the Spanish camp and the Portuguese Court. What a counter-claim against Columbus and his heirs a prior Spanish discovery of Española or Cuba or any West Indian island would have put into the hands of King Ferdinand! With such a discovery by one of her citizens, Portugal could have besieged the Papal throne to withdraw its gift to the Spanish sovereigns. But neither in Spain nor in Portugal was a voice raised to suggest prior discovery.

Again, if Columbus knew that some one before him had gone that way and could have proved it, what an argument he would have had to convert the Spanish sovereigns to his project! He need never have left Portugal, his adopted home, the land of his marriage, and then holding his wife and children. King John would have asked no further proof. It is true that Columbus was of a somewhat secretive nature, but we do not find him jealous or egotistical. He always regarded himself simply as an agent selected by Providence to work out a great purpose. Had there been such a Pilot, Columbus would have been likely to quote his experience and to regard him as another element in the chain of circumstances guiding him on his way toward the fulfilment of his design. Such is the dominating characteristic we discover in this man. He showed no jealousy toward Americus Vesputius, yet he must have known when he commended him to his son Diego that the Florentine had touched continental land before him and explored coasts he had never seen. We say this because the account of his voyages was known in many quarters and existed in printed form before the Admiral died, and such a matter, aside from the opportunity of knowing it, found in the personal intercourse they had shortly prior to his

death must have come in some way to the ears of the first Discoverer.

The reader will understand that there is no point to the story of the Pilot except as it can be made to affect Columbus. The charge is made by the accomplished scholar, Mr. Henry Vignaud¹ of Paris, in his work, *La Lettre et la Carte de Toscanelli* (Paris, 1901), that the undated letter supposed to have been written by Paolo Toscanelli to Columbus inclosing a copy of another letter written June 25, 1474, to the Canon Fernam Martins, and inclosing a map made by Toscanelli, was not genuine, but was fabricated; that no such person as Fernam Martins, a Canon of Lisbon, ever lived, or at least was cotemporaneous with Toscanelli and known to him; and that such knowledge as Columbus had as to the possibility of making his western voyage was derived from a map, and information given him by the Pilot whose story we have just been considering. So far as the story of the Pilot is concerned there are three witnesses to be called in this case² who will of themselves give testimony sufficient to dismiss it out of court.

¹ Mr. Vignaud is now and has been these many years the First Secretary to the Embassy of the United States to the French Republic.

² We attach no great importance to the argument that when the Spaniards arrived in the New World the natives said they had seen white men like unto them before. In the first place, the natives did not say this on the first arrival of the Spaniards. The only authority for this previous knowledge of Europeans or white people is Las Casas, whose words we have quoted above:

Among other ancient things which were related to those of us who went to the first discovery of the land and settlement of the island of Cuba there was this,—that the Indian inhabitants of Cuba maintained that other white and bearded men like ourselves had arrived at this island of Española not many years before us.

Las Casas is referring to the colonisation of Cuba undertaken in 1509. The natives of Cuba told the Spaniards in 1509 that the inhabitants of Española had seen men white and bearded like them not many years before! Seventeen years would carry this period back to the year 1492, and thus the reference might have been to the first arrival of Columbus and his adventurers.

CHAPTER XXXXI

THE THREE WITNESSES

THE first witness is Bartolomé de las Casas. In or about the year 1542, in the island of Española, he was engaged in writing the *History of the Indies*, and as that history in its earliest periods revolved about Columbus, he devoted much of it to his career. He had in his possession many of the original papers of Columbus, including his holograph *Journal* and other documents connected with the discovery. Many other documents, such as were incorporated into his *Book of Privileges*, in their original form were in the monastery of Las Cuevas in Seville. There is no evidence that either the *Journal* or the Toscanelli correspondence ever was lodged in that place.

The reader must differentiate between the papers of Columbus which had to do with his rights and privileges and those which relate to his navigations and to the notes and minutes connected with his travelling experiences. Writers frequently include in the former list so long preserved in the monastery of Las Cuevas at Seville all his papers. Even the precious *Journal* had nothing directly to do with the rights and privileges accorded him by the Crown. It was not an official report directed to the Sovereigns. Nor were the letters and map of Toscanelli official. Such papers might very well have been kept separately, or, if once included in the Las Cuevas collection, have been removed and loaned to Las Casas or to others, as not in any sense essential to the legal case of the Admiral and his heirs against the Sovereigns.

Las Casas repeats the story of the Pilot told first by Oviedo seven years before. For himself he neither affirms it nor denies it. Its importance is not apparent to him. He does not know

that it will one day be used to detract from the credit of Columbus, and that it will require for its support the destruction of the Columbus-Toscanelli correspondence. Las Casas asserts that the Toscanelli letter was in Latin and that he had a copy of it translated from the Latin into Romance or Castilian. A copy is not an original. Where is the original? It must be produced, or even the testimony of Las Casas cannot save Toscanelli. He may have been imposed upon by some one interested in hiding the Pilot story and in associating Columbus in a mutual discussion of a scientific theory resulting in the discovery of the New World. At this juncture Las Casas produces not the original letter, but a part of it, an essential part,—the original Toscanelli chart, the very map made by the Florentine philosopher with his own hands. Oviedo, Gomara, Las Casas, Garcilasso,—none finds the Pilot's map in the hand of Columbus,—and the essential feature of the Pilot story is that this map showed Columbus the way across the Atlantic. In his letter to the Canon, Fernam Martins, Toscanelli says:

I have determined, for greater facility and greater intelligence, to show the *said route* by a *chart* similar to those which are *made for navigation*, and thus I send it to his Highness *made and drawn by my hand*.

This, then, is a practical marine chart, just such as a mariner would require and understand. When afterward Toscanelli writes to Christopher Columbus, he says:

I send you another seaman's chart *like that which I sent to him* [the King of Portugal].

This marine chart was like the one sent in 1474 to the Canon Fernam Martins for the King, showing the same route, bearing the same marks and made by the same hand,—that of Toscanelli himself. What became of that holograph chart? Las Casas,¹ in describing the events which led up to the discovery, says:

The marine chart which he [Toscanelli] sent him, I, who write this history, have in my possession.

The language could not be more explicit. It is the identical map made by Toscanelli, and was an exact counterpart of the one previously sent to the Portuguese Canon. It is true we can-

¹ Las Casas, *Historia*, vol. i., chap. xii., p. 92.

not find the original Toscanelli letter written to Columbus in Latin by his own hand. But we do find in the possession of Bartolomé de las Casas the original map which Toscanelli made and sent to Columbus with the letter. Which is the more important to a seaman about to try the Western Ocean,—the letter or the map? Here is the map marked with its spaces, showing the coasts of Portugal with their islands, indicating other islands to be met with on the route and outlining the coasts of the eastern world with their rich cities of Cathay and Quinsay. If no such correspondence ever occurred between Toscanelli and Columbus, whatever purports to be a part of that correspondence is a fabrication. If the correspondence is a fabrication, the map is also a fabrication. If the map is a fabrication, Las Casas must have been a party to it. To accuse such a man of such a crime is absurd. It is like charging William Wilberforce with forgery. If ever an honest, albeit a fiery, soul, walked the ground of the New World, it was Bartolomé de las Casas, the Apostle of the Indians.

The charge is not plausible. There must have been an object in the fabrication. What was it? We repeat the substance of this charge: Shortly after the death of Columbus the story of the Pilot was assuming such force that it detracted from the honour of the Admiral and the glory of his achievement: to counteract the influence of the story and to show that Columbus did not receive his knowledge of the western world and a map of the route thither from this Pilot, a correspondence was fabricated between Columbus and a scientist of established fame living in Florence, resulting in an interchange of ideas and expressions of mutual appreciation of the thing to be undertaken and its certainty of accomplishment. Pray, of what use is the engraving of a false bank-note if it be not uttered? The world knew nothing of this matter until the year 1571, when the *Historie* of Ferdinand Columbus was printed in Italian at Venice. Las Casas was publishing tract after tract on the treatment of the Indians. He was not unacquainted with the way to reach the public through printed pamphlets. A conspiracy without a motive and which ends without action is ridiculous. Perhaps it may be said that after the fabricator had loaded his gun, it was not necessary to shoot it, seeing that the Pilot story had died of its own weakness. This story was roaming about tentless and for-

lorn until Oviedo gave it shelter in his *Historia*, which he published in 1535, and even there he concludes with the remark that he himself does not believe it. Las Casas was at work on his *Historia* as early as 1527, but that portion of it containing the account of Columbus's first voyage and his use of the Toscanelli map was composed in 1542 or fifty years, as he himself says,¹ after the events occurred. The story, or a story, of some Pilot being driven by a storm westward was current in Española early in the sixteenth century. Such a story, if believed, would naturally affect the fame of Columbus while living. He was unpopular, he was not of Spanish blood, he was opposed by several hostile cliques whose plans he had attempted to frustrate. He had enemies in the Indian Department in Spain. He was none too welcome at Court. His claims were exceedingly embarrassing to King Ferdinand. In Española he was an object of hatred to those engaged in trafficking. After his death his heirs pressed their claims with a persistency most annoying to the Court and to the holders of concessions in the new lands. There were public hearings in the Indian Council and witnesses innumerable were called and questioned. Yet never once was there a whisper of a previous voyage to Española by any man from Huelva, or Andalusia, or the Bay of Biscay. Such an argument against paying money for discovering territory previously discovered by a Spaniard would have been seized with eagerness by the lawyers of the Crown, and the heirs of the Admiral would have been driven out of Court.

But the second witness in this case of the Pilot *versus* Toscanelli is more important still; he is none other than Christopher Columbus himself. In the prologue to his *Journal*, as he started on his first voyage, Columbus wrote these words:

" . . . vuestras Altezas, como católicos cristianos y Príncipes amadores de la santa fé cristiana y acrecentadores della, y enemigos de la secta de Mahoma y de todas idolatrías y heregías, pensaron de enviarme á mi Cristóbal Colon á las dichas partidas de India para ver los dichos Príncipes, y los pueblos y tierras y la disposicion dellas y de todo, y la manera que se pudiera tener para la conversion dellas á nuestra santa fé; y ordenaron que yo no fuese por tierra al Oriente, por donde se costumbra de andar salvo por el camino de Occidente, por donde hasta hoy no sabemos por cierta fé que haya pasado nadie."

¹ See the *Journal* in Las Casas under date of September 13, 1492.

" . . . your Highnesses as Catholic Christians and Princes, loving the Holy Christian faith and the spreading of it, and enemies of the sect of Mahomet and of all idolatries and heresies, decided to send me, Christopher Columbus, to the said regions of India, to see the said Princes and the peoples and lands, and learn of their disposition, and of everything, and the measures which could be taken for their conversion to our Holy Faith: and you ordered that I should not go to the East by land, by which it is customary to go, *but by way of the West, whence until to-day we do not know certainly that any one has gone.*"

In his letter to the Escribano de Raçon, Luis de Santangel, written February 15, 1493, describing his first voyage and his discovery, the Admiral says:

"Esto es harto: y (gracias a ?) eterno Dios nuestro Senor el qual da á todos aquellos que andan su camino victoria de cosas que parecen imposibles—y esta señaladamente fue la una; porque aunque destas tierras aian fablado ó escripto, todo va por conjetura sin alegar de vista; salvo comprendiendo á tanto que los oyentes los mas escuchavan e juzgavan mas por fabla que por poca cosa dello."

"That is enough and, thanks to Eternal God our Lord, who gives to all those who walk His way, victory over *things which seem impossible*; and this was signally one such, for although *men have talked or written of those lands, it was all by conjecture, without confirmation from eyesight*, importing just so much that the Heavens for the most part listened and judged that there was more fable in it than anything actual, however trifling."

In his letter written to Raphael (Gabriel) Sanchez, dated April 29, 1493, the Admiral writes:

"Solet enim deus feruos fuos: quique fua precepta diligunt: etiam in impossibilibus exaudire: vt nobis in prefentia contigit: qui ea confecuti fumus: que hactenus mortalium vires minime attigerant. nam fi harum infularum quipiam aliquid feriperunt aut locuti funt: omnes per ambages et coniecturas nemo fe eas vidisse afferit: vnde prope videbatur fabula."

"For God is wont to listen to His servants who love His precepts, even in impossibilities, as has happened to us on the present occasion, *who have attained that which hitherto mortal men have never reached*. For if any one has written or said anything about these islands, it was all with obscurities and conjectures: *no one claims that he had seen them*: from which they seemed like fables."

These passages read as if the brave old seaman was actually thundering a denial of the Pilot's story, but he is simply recalling the legends ancient and modern of Atlantis, Antilia, Saint Brandan, the Seven Cities, and the splendid mirages beyond

Gomera. Men talked of these, philosophers wrote of them, poets sung of them,—but they were fables.¹

Here, then, is Christopher Columbus himself solemnly declaring once directly before he had his triumph and twice after the accomplishment of his design, that no man had ever gone that way before him. And in so far as he had any knowledge of a previous landfall on Española or any other West Indian territory, we profoundly believe him.

Lastly, we may summon as a witness Pope Alexander VI. In his famous Bull, *Inter Cetera*, he declares that Christopher Columbus, acting for the Spanish sovereigns, searched for

“ . . . terras firmas et insulas remotas et incognitas hujusmodi, per mare ubi hactenus navigatum non fuerat”: “certain continental lands and islands remote and unknown in a part of the sea where up to that time no one had ever sailed.”

And then the Pope further declares that they discovered

“ . . . certas insulas remotissimas et etiam terras firmas quæ per alios hactenus repertæ non fuerant”: “certain most distant islands and continental lands as well, which up to that time had not been discovered by others.”

The evidence of the Pope may be challenged on the ground of its irrelevancy, but who so likely to learn of so great a piece of news as the Head of the Church into whose ears were poured tidings from every priest, every church, every village, and hamlet on the habitable globe. No such discovery as the pretended voyage and discovery of the Pilot could have taken place, with six witnesses and participants, possessed of human tongues while living, and requiring priestly offices while dying, without its knowledge reaching the Pope. And if Pope Innocent VIII. had received such intelligence, it would in turn have reached his successor, Alexander VI.

¹ We have often found ourselves wondering why so momentous an event as the discovery of the New World has been the subject of no great poem, no great picture, no great musical composition. Dati's verse does not satisfy the requirements of poetry. Historical accuracy and the artists's pencil have not yet united to draw the startling scene. And notwithstanding the Abbé de Marbly's commendation of the opera-tragedy *La Découverte du Nouveau Monde* composed by Jean Jacques Rousseau and the assurance of David that the music contained passages worthy of Buononcini, we cannot wholly regret the fate of the Prologue and First Act—all he ever completed—when the author at Lyons consigned them to the flames.

CHAPTER XXXII

NO INDIVIDUAL FABRICATOR

THAT Columbus really did correspond with Toscanelli is evident from the Latin inscription of one of his letters, the famous letter inclosing a copy of the one previously written to the Lisbon Canon and also inclosing the map, made on the guard-*folio* of his example of the *Historia* of Æneas Sylvius printed in 1477. We expect to show in its appointed place that this inscription is in the proper hand of Columbus.¹ Moreover, while we do not find Columbus mentioning Toscanelli by name, we do find him quoting his very words in such a way that their source is apparent. When he speaks of the *Great Khan whose name means in our language King of Kings*, it is a quotation from memory close enough to disclose its source. In the Toscanelli-Spanish letter the words are: "*Gran Khan, el cual nombre quiere decir en nuestro romance Rey de los Reyes*"; while in the prologue to the *Journal* the phrase reads: "*Gran Khan, que quiere decir en nuestro romance, Rey de los Reyes.*"

The doctrine of chances would almost positively preclude such an arrangement of words in a phrase if the one phrase was not taken from the other. The Spanish translation of the original Latin letter came to Las Casas with the papers of Columbus.

The critics scarcely know whom to accuse in this alleged fabrication. The character of Las Casas will not sustain even the suspicion. He was a bold and righteous man. He never appeared very solicitous to protect the fair name of Columbus. In one passage of the *Journal* of the first voyage he gives the Admiral a good character, but for the most part he sees him through the clouds of cruelty and woe which hovered over

¹ See our chapter on "The Handwriting of Columbus."

the Indians, and he scarcely can forgive Columbus for having discovered the islands and for having made such conditions possible. Bartholomew Columbus, the Adelantado, is next examined to see if he can be made to bear this charge of fabrication. When we first meet this man, when we see him embracing his brother on the shores of Española in September, 1494, we behold a strong, brave, bold, intelligent man, but honest, sincere, and open. We follow him through the governorship of the island, his sharing of disgrace with his brother, his masterful management on the fourth voyage, and, as we become better and better acquainted with him, it seems impossible that he could, even for love of his brother's memory, commit a crime like that. It required a different kind of mental machinery for that sort of work. If he did fabricate the letter, it must have been done before 1514, the year he died. But Las Casas did not begin gathering his material until 1527, and therefore they could not have been in collusion. And the reader must bear in mind that if there was a fabrication, Las Casas must have been a party to it, either before or after the crime.

We next behold the passing figure of Ferdinand Columbus, the son of the Admiral by Beatriz Enriquez, and we are asked if we can fix the crime on him. He is the one person connected with the Columbus family, outside of the Admiral and the Adelantado, for whom we confess respect and fondness. He led a pure and useful life. He dedicated his fortune to mankind. He gathered books and opened them for men to read. He established a college and paid for popular education. He wrote a life of his father which, with alterations and modifications, has come down to us in an Italian version published thirty-two years after his death. In it the Toscanelli correspondence appears practically as it is in the *Historia*. And this brings us to another suspect, according to the critics. There was one member of the Columbus family so bad and degenerate that any crime would seem to fit his shoulders. That was the scapegrace Don Luis, the son of Diego Columbus, the first son of the Admiral, and Doña Maria de Toledo. The mixture of Genoese-Portuguese and a weakened strain of Spanish blood seems to have produced a thoroughly unworthy specimen of humanity. He was just twenty years of age at the very latest period allowable for the fabrication. He had already been for over a year the

father of an illegitimate daughter, and his mother was trying to find for him a spouse when he surreptitiously married another woman. His later career was one of polygamy and bigamy, for which crimes he was banished to Oran. He was equipped for the crime, but his peculiar failings do not suggest solicitude for his father's memory. However, this must be said: he did have the papers or manuscripts which formed the basis of his uncle Ferdinand's *History of Christopher Columbus*, and it was through his hand that they finally found their way to Italy and into print. He might have fabricated them and introduced them into the manuscript of Ferdinand, but he must have done this previous to the year 1542, and at that time he was busy with illegitimate loves. He would scarcely have been content to wait for twenty-nine years to see the fruit of his crime if he had done the deed in 1542.¹

¹ Mr. Vignaud seems to suggest firmly that Bartholomew Columbus may have fabricated the correspondence,—in which case it must have been done prior to the year 1514,—and that Don Luis on April 25, 1571, gave it to Baliano di Fornari. The passage in the dedication of the *Historic* is as follows:

"Ne è da dubitare, che l'istoria non sia vera. . . . Ne è ancora da dubitare, che non sia scritta di man del sudetto Illustr. D. Ernando, et che questo che V. S. ha hauuto non sia il proprio originale; essendo che à V. S. fu dato per tale dall' Illustr. D. Luigi Colombo, amico molto à V. S."

"Neither is to be doubted that the *History* is true. . . . Neither is it to be doubted also that it is written by the hand of the above-mentioned Most Illustrious Don Ferdinand and that this, which your Lordship has had, is the original itself; it having been given to your Lordship as such, by the Most Illustrious Don Luis Columbus, a great friend of your Lordship."

The reader is referred to the chapter on "The Life of Columbus in Portugal" for a discussion of the point raised by Mr. Vignaud, that the Portuguese at the time of the writing of the Toscanelli letter, June 25, 1474, had not yet entertained the project of reaching the East by the circumnavigation of Africa.

CHAPTER XXXXIII

THE GEOGRAPHICAL CONCEPTIONS OF TOSCANELLI

MR. VIGNAUD has exhibited much acumen and given evidence of indefatigable research in studying the character of Toscanelli as revealed in the alleged letter, and in estimating his conception of a terrestrial meridian degree. For ourselves it seems anything but a profitable inquiry. Toscanelli made a map for Columbus on which were "laid down the coasts of Portugal and the islands from which you must begin to shape your course steadily westward." In a post-scriptum to his letter he says: "From the city of Lisbon *due west* there are 26 spaces marked on the map, each of which contains 250 miles as far as the very great and magnificent city of Quinsay." This is exact language. If the twenty-six spaces are multiplied by 250— 26×250 —we will have 6500 miles for the estimated distance westward between Lisbon and Quinsay. Quinsay has been identified by geographers as the modern Hang-Chow-Foo. Hang-Chow-Foo is situated in 30° north latitude, while Lisbon is in $38^{\circ} 42'$. Zaiton has been identified as Chang-Choo-Foo, situated in $24^{\circ} 35'$ north latitude. It is highly improbable that the exact geographical situation of either Quinsay or Zaiton was known to Toscanelli or to any other European philosopher in the fifteenth century. Geographers in those days, or in any days, were dependent not on their own observations, but on the reports of travellers for their records. In the first edition of the *Cosmographia* of Ptolemy, translated from Greek into Latin and printed at Vicenza, September 13, 1475, we read:

"Cum autem in præfentiar propofitum fit habitabilem noſtri orbis deſcribere \tilde{q} maxime fieri poſſit intra ſefe coæqualem/neceſſe arbitramur in exordio hoc præponere: quod huius rei primum eſt hiſtoria peraga-

tionis plurimaz noticiam / nacta ex illorum traditione: qui diligentissime regiones quafq̃ explorauerunt."

"But since it is proposed in this present work to describe the habitable part of our earth so that it shall correspond as nearly as possible with actual conditions, we think it necessary to declare at the very beginning that the *story of travellers is the basis of the work*, and what we have derived from the accounts of those who have most thoroughly explored all these regions."

Toscanelli himself had much of his knowledge in the same manner. He says in his famous letter:

And also an Ambassador came to Pope Eugene¹ who related to him the great friendship which they feel for the Christians, and *I spoke much with him* of many things: of the grandeur of the royal edifices and of the great width and length of the rivers, a wonderful thing, and of the multitude of cities there on the banks of the rivers, and how there are two hundred cities on one river alone, and there are very wide and long bridges of marble ornamented with many marble columns.

And in the letter afterwards written to Columbus the Florentine says:

But you cannot well know it perfectly except by experience and *conversation, such as I have had in great quantity*, and good and reliable information from distinguished men of great knowledge, who have come from the said regions here to the Court of Rome, and from other merchants who have traded during a long time in those regions, men of great reliability.

Cristoforo Landino, another learned Florentine who translated Pliny, publishing his book at Venice in 1476, and who also published a *Commentary on Virgil*,² was a friend of Toscanelli,

¹ Gabriel Condellmerius, Cardinal Presbyter of St. Clement, a Venetian, was elected Pope on March 3, 1431, and assumed the name of Eugenius IV. He was a son of Angelus Condellmerius, of an ancient family, although not until his son's ecclesiastical promotion was the father made a Senator. His mother, Bariola Coraria, had a unique experience, since her own eyes saw her brother made Pope as Gregory XII., her son elected as Eugene IV., and her grandson, son of her daughter Polixena, elevated to the Papal chair as Paul II. Eugene died February 23, 1447.

Ramusio, and after him Humboldt, says it was in 1444 that Eugene IV. called before him at Florence Nicolò di Conti, who had just returned from the far East, and absolved him for having abjured his faith in his travels to save his life. But Pope Eugene left Florence on March 7, 1443, and we do not find that he returned to that city during the year 1444. Undoubtedly Toscanelli saw and talked with Nicolò di Conti, who speaks in his travels of Quinsay and Zaiton. The reader will be disappointed if he expects to find much concerning these two cities in the narration of Nicolò di Conti, as taken down at the Pope's command by the Secretary Poggio, a narration *di Conti* is said to have been obliged to make in return for his absolution.

² The reader will search in vain for bibliographical references to fifteenth-century editions of Virgil in Hain. Proctor gives a list of those in the British Museum and the Bodleian Library.

and has left on record that there came to Florence a great concourse of strangers from the East. Landino, in learnedly commenting on the verse of Virgil where *Ultima Thule*, the present Iceland, is mentioned, remarks that it was the custom of Toscanelli to subject to a systematic interrogatory all those strangers who, in passing through Florence, were able to furnish him with information concerning distant countries. Landino speaks of this from personal observation:

"Nostro tamen tempore cum Florentiæ homines viderit qui circa initia Tanais habitent, omnia de illa regione vera novit. Ego autem interfui cum illos Paulus Physicus diligenter queque interrogaret."

"When in our day he saw at Florence travellers who dwelt near the sources of the Tanais,¹ he acquainted himself with all the real truth concerning that region. And, indeed, I, myself, was present when Paul, the Physician, most searchingly interviewed such persons."

After Marco Polo, a traveller by the name of Giovanni da Montecorvino—1291 to 1328—went to India and brought back reports of the great wealth and riches of the eastern regions. Another famous traveller was Andrea da Perugia (1308 to 1326), a monk of the Franciscan order, a member of a mission established at Zaiton by Montecorvino. He told in a letter, dated 1326, of western merchants who were engaged in commerce in that place, among whom it is interesting to note were men from Genoa.

Oderigo de Pordenone, who lived between 1314–1380, was a traveller who brought to Toscanelli confirmation and enlargement of the tales of Marco Polo. He declared that the city of Sin-assin, or Canton, had more of commerce than all of Italy. Of Quinsay this traveller spoke in like terms with the Veretian, and even magnified its splendour and magnificence.

When Eugene IV. called the Council to meet at Florence on July 6, 1439, it is probable there came together in the Church of Santa Maria del Fiore,—the very edifice for which Toscanelli and his friend Brunelleschi were designing a cupola,—among the five hundred delegates, not only representatives from the well-known centres of civilisation, but also from the most remote parts of

¹ Cristoforo Landino is talking about the country north of Moscow which feeds the ancient river Tanais—now the Don—as well as a tributary of the Volga. But the custom of Toscanelli of carefully interviewing travellers and foreign merchants is the point of importance.

Asia and Africa. It was at this time, in that very same month, that the Pope ordered Alberto da Sarteano to go into the Orient with letters from his Holiness addressed to Thomas, the Emperor of the Indians, Prester John, Emperor of the Ethiopians and of the Copts dispersed throughout Egypt, Syria, Palestine, and Ethiopia, inviting them to follow the examples of the other Orientals in accepting the union and in acknowledging the supremacy of the Roman Church. By other letters, dated August 31, 1439, the Pope created Alberto da Sarteano his Commissioner General in all the East, in Egypt, Ethiopia, and India, with ample powers to institute and form monasteries, to preach and absolve and to do such other things as he might deem opportune to induce such Christians as might be found or made in those distant lands to accept the desired union. The experiences of this ecclesiastical commissioner and his suite are most interesting to the student of Catholic missions; but here we can only say that while Da Sarteano himself was mostly in Syria and Egypt and the hospitable island of Rhodes, three of his followers went up the Tanais and across into the Eastern countries, oftentimes pulling Turkish oars in captivity only to be rescued through the offices of rich Florentine merchants at Constantinople, and then again to continue their travels and tribulations. Just when the three returned to Italy we do not know, except that one of them appears to have died there in 1447, but Da Sarteano himself, with Andrea d'Ethiopia and Alberto Dulcerto di Ferrara, reached Florence, making a solemn entry in the summer of 1441. It was no doubt to the conversations with these travellers, as well as to interviews held with Nicolò di Conti, that Toscanelli alludes in his celebrated letter to Fernam Martins.

The route followed by these early travellers was somewhat like this:

Starting from the Sea of Azof they crossed to Astrakhan, going up the Volga to Tsaritsin, or Zaritzyn, in the department of Saratov, making their way over the Ural Mountains, stopping at Oorghenj or Kunya-Urgenj, a city on the Oxus, or Amoo-Darya in Turkestan, whence they went to Otrar in Ferghana on the Jaxartes, a city in the north of Turkestan; from there they journeyed to Armalecco,—the Alimali of the Chinese; from there, after seventy days' march, they reached Kan-Choo, in the province of Kan-Soo, in north latitude 39° 10' near the north-west

frontier and close to the Great Wall of China. This city was the Kampion of Marco Polo.

It was from travellers he never knew or saw that Toscanelli had most of his knowledge. Marco Polo covered in his wanderings all the unknown country reaching to the eastern coasts of Cathay, and it was to reach this coast by the west—by the Atlantic—that the Florentine had advised and approved the undertaking of Columbus.

The geographical knowledge of India obtained by Toscanelli was general. Neither traveller nor foreign merchant ever gave him the latitude and longitude of Cambaluc,¹ Quinsay, or Zaiton. They carried neither astrolabe nor gnomon. The distances between places were also computed from the tales of travellers. The time occupied, the number of days on the back of a camel in crossing the sands, or on a mule crossing a mountain pass, or the days and nights during which a ship made its way over the seas,—these were taken by the cosmographers and, after deducting for delays, for individual peculiarities of beasts and men, for contrary winds and furled sails, the results found their way on to the maps in the form of figures and relative positions. Thus Marinus of Tyre estimated a seven-months' caravan journey at twenty miles a day, without sufficiently allowing for errors, and obtained a much longer distance for the habitable globe than Ptolemy was willing to allow. He made 225° to China on the parallel of Rhodes. The wonder is that the calculations of some of the early geographers were as correct as they afterward proved to be.²

Under these circumstances can we expect Toscanelli to give

¹ Cambaluc, in latitude 30° 54', was the capital of the Great Khan, and is known to-day as Peking. It was called by the Mongols *Taidu*. The site of the old city can be determined from the remains of its walls, and, including Yenking, the circuit of the city was not less than twenty-four Italian miles.

² Many years of geography printing did not overcome gross errors, even in depicting familiar territory.

When, after the discoveries in the New World, geographers tried to be more particular, we find these results: The longitude of Quinsay, according to Gastaldo (Venice, 1548), 185°; Mercator (1538), 225°; Ortelius (Antwerp, 1570), 192°.

We confess we hardly comprehend Mr. Vignaud when he speaks of the knowledge of mediæval geographers respecting the terrestrial measurements of Marinus of Tyre. He regards that knowledge as leaking out only through Ptolemy, and seems to think that when Ptolemy corrected Marinus no one ever after entertained the same ideas. Gerardus Mercator, in his map published in 1538, places the province of Mangi in 225° of longitude east from the Canaries and on the parallel of Rhodes, and the city of Quinsay he places at the same distance in the parallel of Tarragona.

us exact measurements of the distance eastward from Lisbon to Quinsay? And if he did not know the exact distance over a travelled course between these two points, how could he be

It must be remembered that Toscanelli was a student of geography as well as of astronomy, and one of his works, now lost, treated of the dimensions of the earth. Mr. Vignaud seems to think that the Florentine philosopher was dependent for much of his knowledge, and certainly for his knowledge of Marinus of Tyre and his geographical conceptions, on Ptolemy, and as the cosmography of Ptolemy was not printed until 1475, he thinks that Toscanelli was not likely to have learned of Marinus until then. The Greek manuscripts of Ptolemy were many, and one or more was to be found in every important library. Toscanelli knew Greek almost as well as Theodore Gaza,—a sufficient certificate of proficiency. Before the young student had entered the University, the *Cosmographia* of Ptolemy had been turned from Greek into Latin by Jacobus Angelus, a citizen of Florence. Latin manuscripts of the *Cosmographia*, made previous to any printed edition, are still at intervals to be met with in book commerce. It thus appears to us that Toscanelli had access to Ptolemy manuscripts from which he could have drawn his knowledge and his conclusions respecting Marinus and the corrections of Marinus by Ptolemy. It is true that Ptolemy considered the extent of longitude given by Marinus for the habitable world as too great, and reduced that extent from 225° , counting eastward from the Canaries to Sera or China, to 180° for the same distance. (*Sera Metropolis* is placed in longitude 177° .) But Ptolemy did not find a continental limit to his east. Beyond the capital city, Sera, on his map, were unknown lands. Ptolemy made his corrections by exactly the same method employed by Marinus in making his estimate,—the reports of travellers. That Toscanelli might have had knowledge of Marinus and his conceptions is plain from the existence of a map made by a Genoese about the year 1447, and which was afterward deposited in Florence. It bears upon its western extremity the legend in letters somewhat faded:

Hæc est vera cosmographorum cum marino accordata descriptio quotidie friuolis narrationibus iniectis. MCCCCXLVII.

The author of this map seems to have corrected in places not only Marinus, but Ptolemy also. We must keep in mind that no student in the fifteenth century could interpret the geography of the habitable world in the far East except through such light as Marco Polo and other travellers cast upon it in their relations. His and their nomenclatures fixed locations. The length of their journeys fixed distances. But since we do not know what was upon Toscanelli's map, since we are not sure what was his conception of the extent of the habitable world, it seems not a very profitable inquiry at this time as to the dimensions given it by Marinus and Ptolemy.

Mr. Vignaud is right in his historical remark respecting the changed dynasty in China between the visits of Marco Polo and the time in which Toscanelli wrote, but we venture to think the names given that country, its cities, and its provinces by the Venetian traveller were still used by Europeans, and no further proof is needed than their appearance on maps for many years afterward. In the manuscript page reproduced farther on, the extreme east, as understood by Toscanelli, is not given, and consequently the names of Cathai and Quinsay and Zaiton do not appear. The reader will observe, however, as showing the difference between Toscanelli's east and that given by Ptolemy, that Sarada, or Sarata, is only 129° in Toscanelli's column, while it is the end of Ptolemy's east.

The contention of Mr. Vignaud is that a change of dynasty in the Mongolian power in China during the fourteenth century had changed the nomenclature of rulers and provinces, and that this changed nomenclature obtained in the time of Toscanelli. Not only in the fifteenth century but throughout nearly the whole of the sixteenth century the old names were used in Europe and we find in two of the first three books on America published in the English language, the latest of which is

expected accurately to determine the distance over an unexplored sea between these two points in a westward direction? Who was this Toscanelli? ¹

Richard Eden's translation of Peter Martyr's *Decades*, printed at London in 1555, the important province of China is still called Cathay and its ruler the Great Khan. And in the latter book these names are employed in his preface by Richard Eden, himself a scholar and a courtier acquainted with statecraft and with the history of peoples.

¹ Not only *à propos* of Toscanelli's study of geography, but as completely disposing of the charge made by Mr. Vignaud to the effect that Toscanelli was unknown to the Portuguese, the following note or postilla, published by Signor Uzielli in 1898, is here given. It was found among the manuscript papers of Francesco Castellani, a cotemporary of Toscanelli.

"In 1459 I record that on . . . day of July I loaned to Andrea Bochacino, for Master Paolo of the family of Domenico da Pozzo Toscanelli, my great historical mappemonde complete in every way. He carried . . . his family. And he was to restore it to me, except it was agreed that *he should have it for several days and show it to certain ambassadors of the King of Portugal*: and so the said Andrea and the said Paolo promised to restore it to me."

"Received from Master Ludovico, nephew of the said Master Paolo, February 2, 1484, the said mappemonde, somewhat damaged and worn by handling."

CHAPTER XXXXIV

PAOLO TOSCANELLI

PAOLO DAL POZZO TOSCANELLI, son of Domenico Toscanelli and Bartolommea, his wife, was born in Florence in 1397. There were two families in Florence by this name. One was the family of Toscanello Mangia, or Mangiatroia, from Castiglione in Val di Sieve, dwelling in the quarter of Santa Croce. The other was a family which dwelt across the Arno in the quarter of Santo Spirito, near the well of Toscanelli. Pozzo is the Italian word for well, and this particular well, celebrated in Florentine history, gave title to many another family besides the one to which our Paolo belonged. Neither of these families seems to have occupied official positions in the Republic. The well was on a street which had its name from it, and which ran at right angles to the present Via Toscanelli. Part of this street was included in the Pitti Palace when it was enlarged. The family of Landino lived near this well, and Giovanni Boccaccio is said by some to have been born in its immediate neighbourhood. The family Dal Pozzo Toscanelli occupied a house, the site of which was in the angle between the Via Guicciardini, then called Via di Piazza, and the Via de' Velluti, then called Via della Cella di Pier Fantoni. The family of Toscanelli seem to have acquired all the land from their own house as far as the corner of the Quattro Leoni. Paolo was educated at the University of Padua at some period between the years 1414 and 1424, at which latter date he had left the institution. While in the University he was an intimate friend of a fellow pupil, Nicholas de Cusa, who had come over the mountains from Germany. Toscanelli settled at Florence, his native city, and it is said he seldom was absent from his home. During the pontificate of Pius II., when that

Pope endeavoured to institute a crusade against the Ottomans, Toscanelli is believed to have attended the Christian Council held at Mantua in June, 1459. While still a young man he became acquainted with Filippo Brunelleschi, the famous architect. Legend says that this man, so skilled in his profession, the designer of important buildings, the inventor of a system of constructing vaults, found himself so much the inferior of Toscanelli in the science of mathematics, that he placed himself under his training in geometry and the other mathematical sciences so essential to his profession. The architect had been intrusted with the erection of a cupola for the Church of Santa Maria del Fiore when he first knew Toscanelli, and at a supper where they met the former uncovered his lack of mathematical knowledge, and this led, as we have said, to his friendship and association with the young and brilliant mathematician lately come out of the University. Antiquarians dispute to this day as to how much of Brunelleschi's work was really the result of calculations made for him by Toscanelli. The traveller, who from some point of sight, gazes at the great dome of the Cathedral Church can only know that Toscanelli had some part in its construction and is identified with one of the most famous buildings ever designed by man. When the same traveller enters the church, he sees inserted in the pavement in the Capello della Croce a marble gnomon¹ on which the sun's rays fall at noon on the summer solstice,—June 22. It consists of two solstitial marbles, one a large piece bearing the date of 1510, and a smaller one eccentric in form and of different marble. Each has a cavity into which the sun's rays fall from the lantern of the cupola, passing through an aperture in the southern window. The smaller one, about 360 mm. in diameter, a little more than fourteen inches, is so arranged that the sun strikes its southern edge eight days before the summer solstice. This is the one believed to have been constructed by Toscanelli about the year 1468. At a later period, finding that the gnomon supposed to be placed in the pavement by Toscanelli did not receive at the summer solstice the sun's rays directly in the centre, a new one was made in the year 1510, but was inserted around the old one. There is to-day in the same church and passing by the gnomon

¹ Sometimes this gnomon and line are covered with wooden guards to preserve both brass and marble.

a meridian line, one of the few erected by any city to show the people the exact line of the earth's surface upon which they live, and from which they can find true terrestrial directions.

The Florentines speak of two of their citizens in the fifteenth century between whom they know not how to divide the honours of fame,—Paolo Toscanelli and Leonardo, the brilliant son of Ser Piero da Vinci and of the passing Caterina. The youth of Da Vinci was as brilliant and promising as had been that of Toscanelli, passed in the preceding generation. There were bays enough for both. The mathematical and scientific studies of Leonardo must have brought him in contact with the great authority, Toscanelli. However this may be, no citizen of Florence in that time occupied so conspicuous a place of respect and veneration as Paolo dal Pozzo Toscanelli. He was patronised by three generations of the Medici family. He beheld the struggles of Cosimo the Elder in mounting his seat of power. He saw him driven out of Florence, and he witnessed his return from Venice and his proud entry into the Tuscan capital. He heard the gouty Piero moving his disabled tongue. He paid his homage to the two brothers who jointly ruled the city, and, when a conspiracy removed the gentle Giuliano, he enjoyed the protection and encouragement of the pleasant tyrant, Lorenzo. It was under Cosimo, the merchant, that Toscanelli had his greatest advantages in meeting the travellers in commerce who entered every known market, and with their goods brought back strange tales and stories of marvel.

He was associated with the scholars of his time and early moved into the foremost rank. Leon Battista Alberti, the architect and painter, came from his studies at Bologna in the year 1429, and at once formed a lasting friendship with Toscanelli, as is seen in the letter prefixed to his *Intercenali*, which work he dedicated to his friend.¹ Not so creditable, although it was no

¹ Leon Battista de Alberti is not to be confounded with the poet, Battista de Albertis, who wrote *De Amore Liber*, or *Hecatompfula*, under which latter title it was published at Venice in 1491. The architect, Leon Battista, was an illegitimate son, as was also his brother Carlos, to whom he wrote one of his works, *De Commodis Litterarum*, and which was printed at Florence in 1496. His work *De Re Edificatoria* was printed at Florence in 1485. The work mentioned in the text does not appear to have been printed under the title *Intercenali* during the fifteenth century.

fault of Toscanelli, is the honour paid him by Giovanni Francesco Poggio Bracciolini in putting into his mouth some of the anecdotes in his *Liber Facetiarum*, many editions of which came from the press in the fifteenth century.¹

There were two friends of Toscanelli whose intercourse with him resulted in mutual joy and intellectual growth. Both these men were Germans.

One of these, Johannes Müller, was born June 6, 1436, at Königsberg, a city in East Prussia, and from the Latin name of this city he came to be called Regiomontanus. His father, having a mill at Unfind, in the neighbourhood of Königsberg, the trade gave the family its patronymic. Like many another before and since, the youth studied at stolen moments, and his family and friends were forced to recognise his thirst for knowledge and to provide him means for pursuing a course at the University of Leipsic. Hearing of the great German astronomer, George Von Peurbach, Müller went to Vienna, where he was teaching, and to his instructions and influence he owed his progress in the science of astronomy. The teacher died April 8, 1461, in the arms of his favourite pupil, bequeathing to him the duty of finishing certain mathematical and scientific works begun by him. Thus Müller's labours were committed to the study and problems of astronomy, in which science he far outstripped his Viennese teacher. He acquired Greek at Ferrara under Theodore Gaza, which enabled him to read Ptolemy in the original, and he was thus able to correct many errors made by those who had before translated that author into Latin. In 1462, he completed the translation of the *Almagest* of Ptolemy, the first six books of which Peurbach had translated before him. In 1464, Müller wrote a work to demonstrate the absurdity of Nicholas de Cusa's method of squaring the circle, and it is curious to note, as if he were recognised as the scientific Petronius, that both parties to this discussion dedicated their works to Paolo dal Pozzo Toscanelli. Müller published his *Ephemerides Astronomicæ* probably in the year 1474, since the table of lunar observations is calculated from the year 1475 to 1506, and on the verso of the last folio we read:

¹ The first dated edition of the *Facetie*, or *Liber Facetiarum*, is that printed at Nuremberg by Fridericus Creusner in 1475.

"Explicitum est Hoc opus
Anno Christi Domini
MCCCLXXIII
DVCTV IOANNIS
DE MONTEREGIO."

Bibliographers seem inclined to read *explicitum* as if it were *impressum*.

About this time he published his *Calendarium*,¹ a book in which we have a special interest. It is a tract of thirty-two folios of quarto form. On the verso of folio 16 is the woodcut of the total eclipse predicted for February 29, 1504. This book is believed to have accompanied Columbus on his fourth voyage, when, on the eventful night of February 29, 1504, the Admiral perhaps saved the lives of himself and companions, by reason of the fear inspired among the Indians by his prediction of an eclipse and his threat of Divine vengeance on the natives for withholding their assistance in the hour of his distress. In

¹ This tract has the recto of its first folio blank, and the calendar begins on the verso. The calendar comprises twelve folios. On the verso of folio 12 is *Tabula Regionum*. The eclipses of the moon follow with calculations from the year 1475 to 1530, woodcuts illustrating the different degrees of eclipse. On the recto of folio 19 is represented *Instrumentum horarum inequalium*, while on the verso is *Instrumentum veri motus lune minve*, with a woodcut figure containing within it a smaller movable disk. On the verso of folio 16 is the woodcut of the total eclipse of February 29, 1504, which the reader will find reproduced in this Work. On the verso of folio 23 we read:

Verum omnem hanc supputatione horarum cumiuntis suis ad meridianum oppidi nurembergenfis referri uolumus ꝑ locus ille dignus uidebatur quē nouo litterarum genere celebraremus.

From this passage we infer that not only was the work composed in Nuremberg, but that it was printed there on a press already established by Müller.

On the verso of folio 31 is the line:

Ductu Ioannis de Monteregio.

As the reader will see in the text, it is believed that Müller had his own printing-press, and the above line may be regarded as a colophon. Folio 32 has a woodcut on both the recto and verso, the latter entitled, *Quadratum Horarium Generale*, having a brass movable pointer.

In the author's example of this book, on the recto of folio 21, the printer substituted twelve lines concerning the days of February in their relation to the movable feasts. The reason for this doubtless is that the table on the verso had been already imprinted, and it was easier to make a correction than to reprint the whole.

The reader who is interested in this book will find bibliographical references to it in Panzer, vol. ii., p. 233. Panzer, however, never saw this book. Schwartz, *Doc. de Orig. Typ.*, vol. iii., p. 63; Dibdin's *Bib. Spenc.*, vol. iv., p. 463; Hain's, *Repetorium*, vol. iv., p. 203.

our account of the fourth voyage of Columbus we give a reproduction of this page from the *Calendarium*.¹

In his letter to Christian d'Erfurt, in speaking of his work on Ptolemy, Müller declares that he had recourse in his work for counsel and aid to two great scholars:

" . . . Theodora Gaza, clarissimo viro, ac grece latinque doctissimo, Paolo florentino, grecarum quidem haud ignaro, in mathematicis autem plurimum excellenti."

" . . . to Theodora Gaza, a most illustrious man, most learned in both Greek and Latin, and to *Paolo the Florentine*, who, while not at all ignorant of Greek, was without rival in the mathematical sciences."

At the end of June, in the year 1475, Müller was summoned to Rome by Pope Sixtus IV. to confer with him concerning a reformation of the calendar, a project much at the heart of that Pontiff. At the same time the Pope announced to him that he would appoint him Bishop of Nuremberg. He had scarcely arrived in Rome when, falling ill of the pest then raging in the Eternal City, he died there, July 6, 1475, and was buried in the Pantheon. Popes Martin V. and Eugene IV. had endeavoured to turn this Papal Temple into a church, in which might be interred the illustrious dead. The sepulchre of Johannes Müller Regiomontanus is not identified in the present day.

Nicholas de Cusa, the other intimate friend of Toscanelli, was born in 1401 in Cues, a small village on the banks of the Moselle, in the province of Treves in Rhenish Prussia. He was educated at Deventer, in the house of the Brothers of the Common Life, a celebrated order of that time in Germany and Italy. Before he

¹ It is certain that Müller had established a printing-press at Nuremberg as early as 1471, in which year he went to that city, forming a partnership with a rich patrician, Bernardus Waltherus. It is not unlikely that his press was established as early as that of Johannes Sensenschmid, and perhaps he is entitled, as one might infer from the reference in our note, to the honour of being Nuremberg's first printer. However this may be, he printed the following works from his celebrated and extremely rare press:

Georgius Peurbachius: *Theoricæ Nouæ Planetarium*. Folio.

Manilius: *Astronomicon*. Quarto.

Johannes Regiomontanus: *Calendarium*. Quarto.

Johannes Regiomontanus: *Ephemerides*. Quarto.

Hæc Opera fiunt . . . ductu Johannis de Montereio (a single leaf only).

Basilii: *Opusculum ad Juuenes*.

Johannes Regiomontanus: *Tractatus contra Cremonensia*. Folio.

Vegius: *Philalthes*. Quarto.

loh. Regiomontanus: *Kalender*. Quarto.

was twenty years of age he entered the University of Padua, where he met Toscanelli and where their friendship began. De Cusa left Padua about 1428, and entered upon an ecclesiastical career, in which he made rapid progress and obtained early preferment. In 1430 he was Dean of the College of St. Florins at Coblenz. After performing many ecclesiastical functions and serving as Papal legate, Nicolas V., soon after assuming the Pontifical dignity, bestowed the Red Cap upon De Cusa on December 28, 1448, with the title of Cardinal di San Pietro in Vincoli. Between the years of 1450 and 1460, De Cusa devoted all his spare time to mathematical studies, holding continual correspondence with Toscanelli, which was uninterrupted until the death of the Cardinal. He was several times in Florence, and in 1479 he persuaded his philosophical friend to visit him in Rome, which he did shortly after. De Cusa was the author of many theological and scientific works. He died in Todi, August 11, 1464, and we have a special interest in the will which was read directly after his death. On June 15, 1461, in his own palace near the Church of Santi Pietro e Paolo, the Cardinal made his will, having as one of his witnesses a certain Pietro Wymar di Erkelens, Canon of Aix-la-Chapelle. Three years after this the Cardinal, accompanied by Toscanelli and other friends, was on his way to meet the new Crusaders who were going against the Turks. Pope Pius II., then, like De Cusa, approaching his last days, was making his way in a litter to Ancona, where he welcomed a squadron of eleven galleys from Venice, headed by the Doge himself, Cristoforo Maurus. Here at Ancona, in the midst of his project of himself accompanying a fleet, the Pope, on August 14, 1464, died, a great priest, after a brief reign of six years. The Cardinal de Cusa, with Toscanelli, was on his way to this same meeting, but at Todi, a little town some five and twenty miles south of Perugia, he was taken ill, and, on August 11, 1464, three days before the death of the Head of his Church, he passed from earth. It is his second will, made at Todi on August 6, 1464, that holds our attention for a moment. There was present when this will was executed the same individual who had witnessed the previous instrument of June 15, 1461, Pietro Wymar di Erkelens, and who on this occasion officiated as notary. The body of the first will was confirmed with some modifications, and two cardinals, Giovanni, Bishop of Porto, and

Christopher Columbus

Berardo of Santa Sabina, were named as his executors. The instrument was witnessed by Giovan Andrea d'Bussi, Bishop of Acci¹ in Corsica, Paulus Physicus of Florence (Toscanelli), and Fernandus de Roritz, Canon of Lisbon. All three of these witnesses were interesting men. The first appended his name as follows:

"Ego Ioannes Andreas, episcopus Acciensis, premissis omnibus et singulis rogatus testis interfui, ac ea, ut premittitur, fieri vidi et audiui. ideo me hic manu propria subscripsi in fidem et testimonium eorundem."

When printing was introduced into Italy, it was Giovan d'Bussi who became the corrector of the first Italian press set up at Subiaco by Conradus Sweynheim and Arnoldus Pannartz. Thus the hand of this man trimmed the torch of learning.

The second witness subscribed as follows:

"Ego Magister Paulus magistri Dominici, physicus, omnibus ac singulis rogatus [*sic*] testis interfui, ac etiam, ut premittitur, fieri vidi et audiui. ideo me hic manu propria subscripsi in fidem et testimonium eorundem."

"I, Master Paolo, physician, the son of Domenico, was present when the witnesses all and severally were introduced and examined, and I saw and heard what was said as is set forth. Therefore, as a witness for each of them I have in good faith subscribed myself with my own hand."

Paulus Physicus, the son of Dominicus, is our own Toscanelli.

The third witness appended his name as follows:

"Ego Magister Fernandus de Roritz, Canonicus Ulixbonensis, artium et medicine doctor, premissis omnibus et singulis rogatus testis interfui, ac ea, ut premittitur fieri vidi et audiui. Ideo me hic manu propria subscripsi in fidem et testimonium eorundem."

"I, Master Fernandus de Roritz, Canon of the city of Lisbon, Doctor of Sciences and Medicine, was present when the witnesses all and severally were summoned and examined, and I saw and heard what was done as here set forth. Therefore, as a witness for each of them I have subscribed myself with my own hand."

The third witness is believed to be no other than Fernam Martins, Canon of Lisbon, to whom Toscanelli, on June 25, 1474, wrote his famous letter concerning a western trans-Atlantic route to the Indies. It is the contention of Signor Uzielli

¹ Some have thought to identify this place with Adaiciensis or Ajaccio, but Signor Uzielli has determined that it was Acci, now disappeared, but once an important town in Corsica, and which, in the fifteenth century, had a bishopric.

that the name of this man, as it appears appended to the testament, is derived from the village of his birth. This village is Roritz, in Portugal, in the province Entre Douro-e-Minho, near the river Vizella, in the district of Oporto. It certainly was the custom to name men after the place in which they were born, and an instance of this is seen in the name of the testator himself, Nicholas de Cusa, who was called after his native village. It may be argued that in a formal document like this, a man's patronymic or the name describing the place of his origin, would be of the utmost importance for purposes of identification, and hence if the man in question, to avoid using a long appellation and to choose between subscribing himself Fernam Martins or Fernandus de Roritz, would naturally have made use of the latter form. But if this choice obtained in the case of this witness, why did it not in the case of that other witness, Paulus Physicus, who made use neither of Pozzo nor Toscanelli in subscribing to the will? ¹ Contemporaneous with both Toscanelli and De Cusa was another ecclesiastic, Antonio Martins, of the province of Oporto or a neighbouring province in Portugal. This man filled many offices in the church, having been connected with the Metropolitan Church at Lisbon,—the same in which our Fernam Martins held the office of Canon,—Dean of the church of Avora, Bishop of Porto, and Cardinal of San Grisogono. He was employed by King John to accompany his nephew Alfonso as delegate from Portugal to the Council of Bâle, and also as Ambassador to Charles VII. of France, to Henry VII. of England, and to Philip of Burgundy to induce them to conclude peace among themselves. This man was at the Councils held in Bâle, Ferrara, and Florence, and, being the most eminent representative from Portugal, it is certain he must have been known to Toscanelli. The inference is that these two men, the Canon of Lisbon and the Prince of the Church, having the same name of Martins, coming from the same or contiguous provinces, were of the same family and were both known to Toscanelli. It is only inference, but so is much of the matter relating to characters of the fifteenth century.

¹ As for ourselves, we do not find on any printed map of Portugal of the fifteenth or sixteenth century to which we have had access this village of Roritz. We should be inclined to think it might be another and ancient form for Cividat Rodrigo, except that Signor Uzielli, who has particularly studied this point, will not admit its probability.

The basis of the inference as to the identity of Fernam Martins, Canon of Lisbon, with Fernandus de Roritz, Canon of Lisbon, is the similarity of names united to the relationship Paolo Toscanelli held with each. It will be recalled that in the Latin letter which is claimed to have been inscribed by the hand of Columbus in the *Historia* of Pius II., Toscanelli at its very beginning expresses himself pleased to hear *de tua valitudine*. This solicitude for the health of his correspondent certainly suggests intimate personal relations.

Again, Toscanelli says in a passage immediately following:

Cum tecum alias locutus sum de breviori via ad loca aromatum.

"I have on other occasions spoken with thee concerning the shorter route to the land of spices."

This language indicates personal intercourse. The Florentine had before this communicated his ideas on this subject to the Lisbon Canon by word of mouth. When and where did these two men know each other? Toscanelli is known never to have departed out of Italy. He did make journeys to Rome. What more natural than that a Canon of Lisbon, a man bound to Rome by religious ties and to men of science by the bonds of learning, should find himself in company at Rome with Toscanelli and afterward journey with him and his friend the Cardinal to see the splendid spectacle of a new Crusade starting to wrest from the Mohammedan his hold on the cradle of Christianity?

Signor Uzielli produces another very strong reason for believing that the Fernandus de Roritz, Canon of Lisbon, associated with Cardinal de Cusa and Toscanelli was identical with the Fernam Martins, Canon of Lisbon, associated with Toscanelli in the famous correspondence concerning a shorter route to the land of spices. There is preserved in the *Biblioteca Reale* of Monaco a *Tetralogus de non Aliud* between the four individuals, Cardinal de Cusa under the name of Abbas, or the Abbe, Johannes Andreas Vigerius, Petrus Balbus Pisanus, and *Ferdinandus Matim Portugaliensi Natione*. The subject under discussion was the examination of a philosophical method to be employed in arriving at a knowledge of transcendental truths. The reader will remember that we have met with three of these men before, when two of them were gathered with our Toscanelli in the little Italian town of Todi around the death-bed of the third. Johan-

nes Andreas, Bishop of Acci and a native of Vigevano (from which De Cusa calls him Vigerius), and Fernandus (Martin) de Roritz, of the Portuguese nation and Canon of Lisbon, witnessed the last will and testament of Cardinal de Cusa on August 6, 1464. Here, then, are associated three of the parties to the discussion, and who can doubt that the *Fernando Martin* or *Ferdinandus Matim* of the Portuguese nation is the same individual who was at the death-bed of the author of the *Tetralogue* in which he figured, and the same individual who afterward corresponded with Toscanelli? It seems to us that the existence of a real personality for Toscanelli's correspondent has been established.

Toscanelli was the author of several works on geography, on perspective, and on meteorology as applied to agriculture. These works are to-day lost, but the reader has received already an impression of the learning of a man who could attract to himself the greatest hearts and minds of Germany and Italy. The relationship in which he lived with other great souls excites surprise when we learn of his retired and quiet life in his home at Florence. He seems to have been sought by the famous men of his day, rather than to have gone forth into the world for notoriety. Paolo Toscanelli died at Florence, May 10, 1482. In the early spring of that year, on his finding his end approaching, he called around him his natural heirs and recorded in a notarial act his wishes concerning his property, and particularly his desire that his heirs might live in unity. He seems to have made some disposition of the instruments associated with his studies of geography, astronomy, and the mathematical sciences, and of his library devoted to these subjects as well as to medicine and theology. It is said that among his books were sixteen volumes in Greek—presumably manuscripts—of great value. Ludovico Toscanelli inherited these. There was a volume of Ibn-Sina,¹ or Avicenna, the Arabian philosopher, which was greatly prized by Toscanelli, but so little were his death-bed admonitions heeded that this precious manuscript was put in pawn by his heirs for fifty-seven Florentine lire.

¹ This was probably a manuscript. There was no dated printed edition rare enough to deserve special care. During the fifteenth century there were printed no less than twenty-five separate editions of this author, several of which were issued prior to Toscanelli's death.

The cotemporaries of Toscanelli as well as subsequent historians all agree as to the singular purity of his life and character. Vespaciano da Bisticci says of him: *Era ferma opinione che Maestro Pagolo fusse Vergine*, a virtuous condition due, some critics think, to the extreme plainness of his person. This same Vespaciano reports that much of the time the philosopher had his sleep while lying upon a board attached to his writing-table. He lived most frugally on herbs, fruit, and water, scarcely touching meat.

Bartholomeo Fonzio, Public Professor of Eloquence at Florence, who knew Toscanelli in his old age, wrote of him in his *Annali*:

"Paulus Tuscanellus, medicus et insignis philosophus, magnum exemplar virtutis qui semper nudo vertice etiam in maximis frigoribus incedebat: . . . annum agens quintem et octogesium, idibus maiis, Florentia in patrie solo moritur."

"Paul Toscanelli, physician and distinguished philosopher, a great example of virtue, who always walked about with bared head even in the fiercest winter, . . . is dead on May 15, at Florence, his native place, aged eighty-five."

He was not free of speech in company, remaining long without intruding his conversation. Vespaciano regarded him as the most mild of men, so good himself that when he heard anything at all indecent he changed countenance. He himself never spoke evil of any one. He was extremely devout and observant of religious forms, a lover of the good and especially of those persons connected with the Church. He visited the sick and administered unto those in need. Thus he lived a life, says Vespaciano, of extreme virtue, having no weight upon his conscience.

The singular purity of this man's life is mentioned by Luca Landucci, the Florentine chronicler, who speaks of Toscanelli in 1458, when he makes mention of the illustrious citizens of Florence. In his *Diario* and in his list of famous men he places Toscanelli after the Archbishop Antonino and Messer Bartholomew de' Lappacci, calling him: *Master Paolo, a Physician, Philosopher, and Astrologer, and a Man of Holy Life*. The fourth name is that of Cosimo di Giovanni de' Medici, and history records that these four names were the most illustrious stars in the resplendent Tuscan capital, representing sanctity and the schools, science and the State.



Portrait of Paolo Toscanelli.

Toscanelli was by no means as poor as the proverbial philosopher. In the year 1462 there was the greatest excitement over the discovery of a mine of alunite or alum stone in Tolfa, ten miles north-east of Civita Vecchia. This discovery, it has been pointed out, was for its importance to Europe in that day like the discovery of gold in California in our own time. The supply of alum had come from Edessa in Syria and from Turkey, and now the Christian world found itself with home sources not only making it independent of the hated Mohammedan, but opening a new source of revenue, the wealth from which might be turned against the Moslems.

Thus Pope Pius II., intent on his new Crusade, was quick to take this view of the discovery and publicly announced that from the earth was to come the resources for the delivery of Jerusalem. This animated the Christian world and a general hunt for productive metals and earthy elements was instituted, particularly throughout Italy. A few years afterward, Lorenzo de' Medici, who was then on the throne, was notified of the discovery of certain rich copper mines at Montecatini in Val di Cecina, and besides securing a concession from Pope Sixtus IV., he formed a stock company consisting of six shareholders, of which Toscanelli was fortunate enough to be one. It is not certain that this particular investment was greatly profitable to the philosopher, but it seems to indicate that the great scientific knowledge of Toscanelli was the cause of his becoming associated with the speculators and captains of industry of that day. He gave much of his time also to the science of agriculture. His acquaintance with the properties of minerals and metals was important to the development of the mining and agricultural industries of his native country, and was of practical use to mankind.

There appears to have been only one contemporaneous portrait of Paolo Toscanelli, which was painted in a fresco by Alessio Baldovinetti, in the chapel of Santa Trinita, in Florence. It is thought that this was executed between the years 1471 and 1476. A century later, sometime between the years 1569 and 1572, Georgius Vasari was decorating the grand hall of the Palazzo Vecchio and was engaged in discovering portraits or works made by previous artists, in which search he mentions

particularly the examples of Baldovinetti in the said chapel of Santa Trinita. As Vasari proceeded to place on the wall of the Palazzo Vecchio the portrait of Paolo Toscanelli, it is inferred that he painted his portrait from a contemporaneous model by the earlier Florentine artist. Vasari introduces this illustrious character in his *Dialogue*, where the interlocutors were himself and Francesco de' Medici, and where the former is describing the frescoes in the Great Hall of Cosimo il Vecchio:

"Principe. . . . ma vegniamo a quest' altra storia, dove io veggio un gran numero di persone naturali intorno a Cosimo, che siede loro in mezzo. chi sono coloro che gli presentano libri, e quelli altri che li presentano statue, pitture e medaglie?"

"Giorgio. Quel ritto vestito di pagonazzo, magro e grinzo, che ha quel libro in mano, è Marsilio Ficino, grandissimo e ottimo filosofo, che presenta a Cosimo l'opere sue, e dietro gli è l'Argiro Pilo, di nazione greca, letteratissimo di que' tempi, che fu mezzo Cosimo, che la gioventù fiorentina imparassi la lingua greca, in que' tempi poco nota; e quelli in profilo allato al Ficino è maestro Paolo dal Pozzo Toscanelli, grandissimo geometra.

"Principe. Huomini tutti grandi e onorati. . . ."

"Francesco. . . . But now we come to this other part where I see a great number of illustrious persons surrounding Cosimo, who is seated in their midst. Pray who are these who are presenting him with books and who are the others who present him with statues, paintings, and medals?"

"Vasari. That one to the right, clothed in purple, lean and wrinkled, who has a book in his hand, is Marsilio Ficino, the best and greatest philosopher, who presents his own work to Cosimo, and behind him is Argiro Pilo, of the Greek nation, the most learned of those times, who was at the Court of Cosimo in order that the Florentine youth might become versed in the Greek tongue, at that time little known. And he whose profile appears by Vicino is Master Paolo dal Pozzo Toscanelli, the greatest of geometricians.

"Francesco. All great and honoured men. . . ."

Toscanelli is believed to have been buried in the Church of Santo Spirito in Florence, where his family had the right of sepulture, but with the passing of time and in the changes of the vaults and pavements, his tomb is no longer identified.

We have dwelt thus at length on the personality of this Florentine for the purpose of recalling to the memory of the world one of the great lights of a past age whose acquirements and virtues entitle him to remembrance. He was one of the great men of his age and he walked among great men. If his

thoughts were much on the heavens, his hand brought to man many practical blessings. We can not think that any man or any coterie of men would dare have fabricated a letter from him on any subject whatsoever, especially when the second party to the correspondence was a man well known in Portugal and in Italy.

CHAPTER XXXXV

TOSCANELLI, THE SCIENTIST

IN the month of April of the year 1864, Professor Giovanni Battista Donati sent a communication to *Le Notizie Astronomiche* as follows:

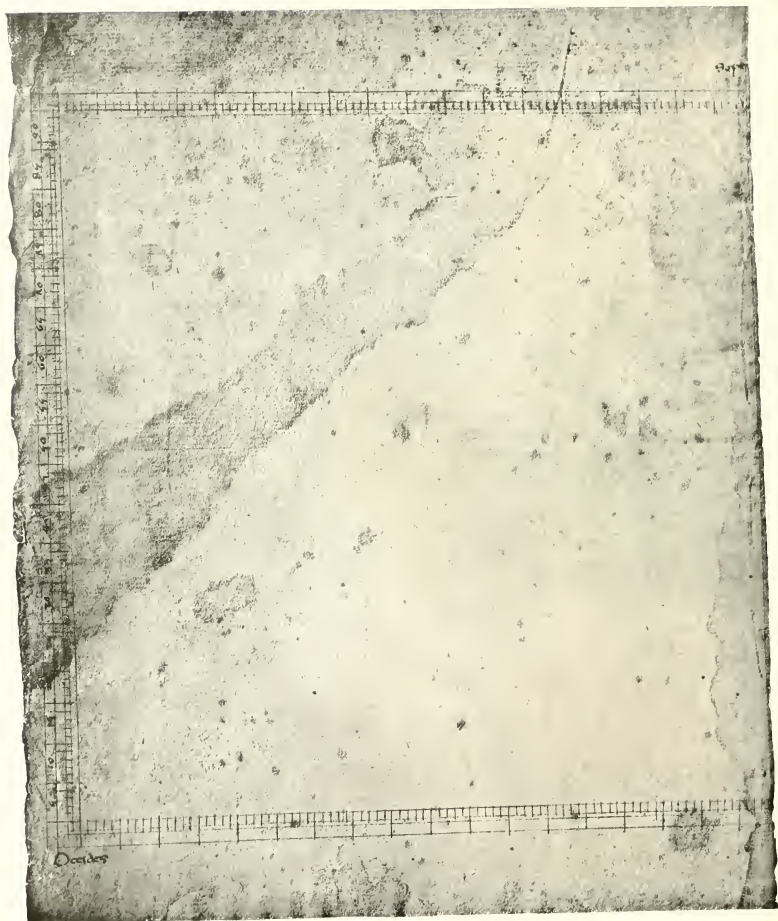
I have the pleasure of announcing to you that there have been found at Florence some very ancient observations, very interesting, concerning some comets of which up to the present time we have only very vague information. It is to Mons. the Professor Puliti that we owe the discovery of these, which he has found in an ancient manuscript in our National Library. These observations relate to the comets which made their appearance in the years 1433, 1449, 1456,¹ 1457, and 1472. We owe these observations to Paul Toscanelli, celebrated for his letters to Christopher Columbus and for the famous gnomon which he placed in our cathedral. I propose to write a detailed discourse on these observations and as soon as possible I will acquaint you with the results of my labours.²

Besides his observations on the comets, this precious manuscript, the only holograph of Toscanelli in existence, contains a table of latitudes and longitudes for many well-known places and a graduated rectangular outline designed for a map. We reproduce these in exact fac-simile. This last consists of two equal sheets, one marked in the manuscript 253 A, and the other 256 A, by which they may be identified. The one 253 A is 221 mms. in height and 215 mms. in length and has the word *Oriēs* (Oriens) inscribed on the lower dexter corner; on three of its sides, the upper, the lower, and the right, is a border containing spaces and degrees. The border on the right side marks the

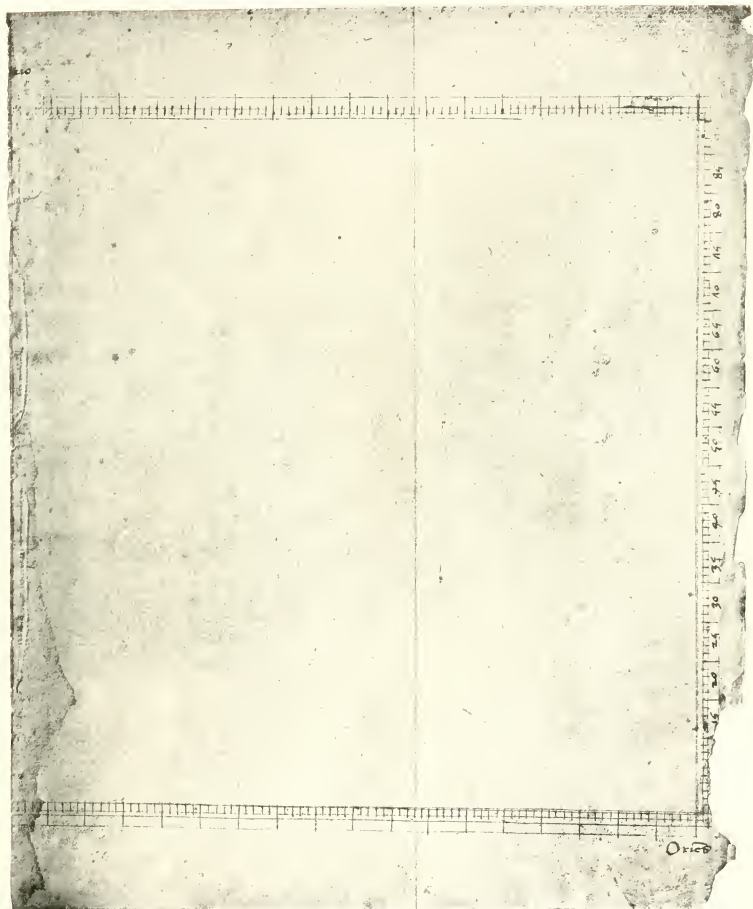
¹ The Halley Comet.

² This manuscript will be found in the *Biblioteca Nazionale* under the following library designation: Banco rari, arm. 9, palch. 2, n. 13. Uzielli gives the following abbreviation, A. 9. 2. 13.

Locality	Altitude (ft)	Latitude	Longitude	Notes
Sierrita de la Cruz	8000	30° 15'	105° 30'	
Pueblo Viejo	7500	30° 10'	105° 35'	
Barro Colorado	7000	30° 05'	105° 40'	
Barro Colorado	6500	29° 55'	105° 45'	
Barro Colorado	6000	29° 50'	105° 50'	
Barro Colorado	5500	29° 45'	105° 55'	
Barro Colorado	5000	29° 40'	106° 00'	
Barro Colorado	4500	29° 35'	106° 05'	
Barro Colorado	4000	29° 30'	106° 10'	
Barro Colorado	3500	29° 25'	106° 15'	
Barro Colorado	3000	29° 20'	106° 20'	
Barro Colorado	2500	29° 15'	106° 25'	
Barro Colorado	2000	29° 10'	106° 30'	
Barro Colorado	1500	29° 05'	106° 35'	
Barro Colorado	1000	29° 00'	106° 40'	
Barro Colorado	500	28° 55'	106° 45'	
Barro Colorado	0	28° 50'	106° 50'	



Fac-simile of Toscanelli's Holograph
[Reduced from the *se*



p in a Graduated Rectangular Outline.
[mentioned in the text.]

latitude, the lower parallel being the equator and the upper being the pole, there being 18 spaces, each having five subdivisions, each marking a degree, giving 90 degrees in height from the equatorial line to the Arctic Pole. The border on the lower and upper side marks the longitude and contains 36 spaces, each having five subdivisions, each marking a degree. The other, 256 A, is 221 mms. in height and 215 mms. in length. It has the word *Occidēs* (Occidens) on the lower sinister side, and is intended to have its right side joined immediately to the left side of 253 A, thus forming a rectangular plane 221 mms. in height, containing 18 spaces or 90 degrees of latitude from the equinoctial line to the Arctic Pole, and 430 mms. in length containing 36 spaces or 180 degrees of longitude. That this union is intended is evident from the fact that the word *Septētrio* (Septentrio) above each section is divided, the letters *Septē* appearing on the extreme upper dexter corner of 256 A and the *trio* appearing on the extreme upper sinister corner of 253 A, the word being completed by the union of the two sections. Evidently this plane was intended to be accompanied by another having the same dimensions, upon which was to be depicted the rest of the habitable world from the equator to the south or Antarctic Pole, the longitude being continued 36 spaces or another 180 degrees to complete the circumference of the earth. There is no geographical matter whatsoever inscribed within the border. It was only a frame in which the geographer expected to paint known and unknown places, as he did for King Alfonso and for Columbus, but he was interrupted in his work and his picture of the world is lost to us for ever. Enough is preserved, however, to indicate that Toscanelli divided the terrestrial equatorial line into 72 spaces, each having five degrees.

We have now to consider the other folio of the manuscript, which is marked 254 A, and which is here reproduced. We are to learn from this the length of a degree as calculated by Toscanelli. On the upper right-hand margin the philosopher has written:

"Gradus continet. 68. miliarum minus. 3^a. unius. Miliarum tria milia brachia. Brachium duos palmos. Palmus .12. uncias .7. filis."

"A degree contains 67 $\frac{2}{3}$ [sixty-eight less one third] miles. A mile

contains 3000 brachia. A brachium contains two palms. A palm contains 12 inches and 7 fili."¹

A brachium is estimated to contain 0.550637 metres. A mile or 3000 brachia would contain 1651.911 metres, or 5417 English feet. Toscanelli, then, estimated that a degree on the great circle at the equator measured $67\frac{2}{3}$ Tuscan miles, equal to $69\frac{2}{3}\frac{2}{3}\frac{0}{0}$ English statute miles. According to this the circumference of the earth at the equator would equal 24,969 of our English miles. The French measurement made by M. Faye in the year 1894 was 40,007,520 metres, or 24,860 English miles. About the same time another measurement gave 24,871 statute miles. The world recognises improvements in measurements as in other things not so exact. If we do not know the exact circumference of the earth we cannot secure an exact unit of measure. The legal French metre is 39.370432 English inches, but the results obtained from the arc-measurements made by Col. A. R. Clarke make a metre 39.377786 English inches. However, the correctness of his calculations by this man in the fifteenth century, this man who had never been out of Italy, is something to excite our wonder.

We may now turn to the letter of Toscanelli to Columbus as copied by the hand of the latter in the guard-folio of the *Historia* of Pius II. In this letter Toscanelli says he incloses with the letter a marine chart upon which he has laid down the coasts and islands of Portugal, with *straight* lines drawn lengthwise upon the map to indicate distances from east to west and *transverse* [lines] to show the distances from south to north, together with the location of various places. Writers do not agree as to the meaning of *transversæ*. Some, like Signor Uzielli, regard the *transverse* lines as running north and south, perpendicular to the other *straight* lines which Toscanelli says he has drawn from east to west. Others see in the use of these terms an expression of different kinds of lines, as if those running north and south were lines intersecting diagonally. Authorities are found for both readings.²

¹ We are at a loss to know the measure of the *filum* or *filo*. Some have imagined that Toscanelli wrote *ditos* for *digitos*. Some have thought it was intended for *crino*, a measure used by the Arabs and meaning the thickness of a horsehair. Evidently the word is the Latin *filum*, but its dimensions we do not know, unless, as is possible in this connection, it may be the twenty-fourth part of an inch. Dante sometimes uses *ju* as a unit of measure.

² Frontinus in his *De Aquæductibus* uses *transversæ* in the sense of oblique lines. And while no maps with projections were constructed in the fifteenth century, the

In this letter of Toscanelli is a post-scriptum which is so doubtful in its reading that Mr. Vignaud considers it as destroying the credibility of the entire letter. We confess that at first sight it seems decidedly puzzling. The first part of the paragraph is as follows:

"A ciuitate vlixponis per occidentem in directo sunt 26 spacia in carta signita quorum quodlibet habet miliaria 250 usque ad nobilissim [am] et maximam ciuitatem quinsay circuit enim centum miliaria et habet pontes decem et nomen eius sonat cita del cielo ciuitas celi et multa miranda de ea narrantur de multitudine artificium et de redditibus. hoc spacium est fere tertia pars totius spere, que ciuitas est in prouincia mangi scilicet vicina prouincie katay in qua residencia terre regia est."

"From the city of Lisbon by the west in a direct line there are 26 spaces designated on the map, each of which has 250 miles, as far as the splendid and great city of Quinsay. For it is a hundred miles about it and it has ten bridges and the name of it is *Cita del Cielo*, City of Heaven, and many wonderful things are narrated concerning it and concerning the multitude of its industries and resources. This space is nearly a third part of the whole sphere, which city is in the province of Mangi, certainly in the neighbourhood of the province of Cathay, in which country is the Royal Capital.

If now we are to understand that Toscanelli¹ intended to say that three times 26 spaces would encircle the globe it is contrary to the system on which he constructed the rectangular outline which we have reproduced. Three times 26 will give us 78 spaces for the circumference or total distance around the equator, and no geographer would select a system of divisions from which the 360 degrees of a circle could not be obtained by a whole multiple. The tendency in the use of figures has always been to employ decimals. At all events it is easier and therefore more desirable to use 10 or a power of 10 or a half of 10 fact that Toscanelli had in mind a sphere indicates that he knew the difference in the measurement of degrees according as one advanced toward the pole.

Moreover, his reference to directions which he had given of *how far it would be necessary to diverge from a straight line*—the equator—*quantum a polo vel a linea equinoctiali debeat declinare*, suggests that he was providing for the curvature of the earth and that it would be necessary not to follow absolutely a straight line, but to allow for the spheroidal form of the earth by diverging from the equatorial line.

¹ Perhaps in all Europe there was no man more worthy of succeeding to the reputation for scientific learning, and particularly geographical knowledge, once enjoyed by Paolo Toscanelli than Jaime Ferrer. Let the reader interpret his letter to the Spanish sovereigns, dated January 27, 1495, in which he undertakes to explain the 370 leagues of distance fixed by Spain and Portugal for a dividing line. If this scientist with knowledge of actual distances could not make himself clear in a few lines, it need not be wondered if Toscanelli fails to make his brief letter perfectly intelligible.

rather than a fraction. We do not believe Toscanelli would make use of any such division of the earth's circle as 78 equal spaces. If he had divided the circle into 72 spaces, the multiple 5, or 5 degrees to a space, would give us 360 degrees for the completed circle. The reader will notice that after employing exact terms, after stating that from Lisbon to Quinsay there are 26 spaces of 250 miles each, Toscanelli enters upon a brief description of the glories of Quinsay and then is made to state that *this space is almost a third part of the entire sphere*; after which he reverts again to Quinsay. This suggests an interpolation. It is so much in a parenthetical form that, as we have seen in the Spanish version which Las Casas probably had directly from the family of Columbus and therefore from his papers, it appears actually in a parenthesis. But even this form of inserting the passage does not relieve the incoherency of the interpolation. And above all the language used is not scientific language such as Toscanelli would have employed if he had been speaking of an actual map and of actual distances. The scientist does not know the words *nearly* or *almost* or *about*. The merchant traveller employs these words to describe the distances in his journeys, but an astronomer or geographer would not be likely to use indefinite measurements. We think, then, that this phrase, *this space is nearly one third part of the whole sphere*, was inserted by Columbus as his own expression, and that the Florentine philosopher is not to be held responsible for its appearance. We do not see why this admission or the fact itself should throw doubt upon the genuineness of the letter. This letter is not in Toscanelli's hand. It is almost certain from its construction and from the spelling of the words that it is not a literal transcription. We believe it is in the proper hand of Columbus, as we venture to hope we shall demonstrate in our chapter on "The Handwriting of Columbus." Columbus, however, was not particular or careful in his orthography either in Spanish or Latin. If we imagine that Columbus was hurried or that some one was reading to him from the original when he was engaged in inscribing the letter in the blank page of the *Historia* of Pius II., it would account for the errors—not many at the most—which are noticeable in the copy and it would account for the sudden action of the transcriber in inserting the expression of a thought which he desired to connect with what the

original writer had said. The habit of making notes, of jotting down his ideas wherever he found blank paper and without regard to the dignity of the subject, was confirmed in Columbus, and it is quite possible that he saw no impropriety, since the letter itself and its transcription were for himself alone, in interpolating that phrase. It is like the incoherent manner of Columbus in his elaborate compositions and indeed in nearly all his writing. It certainly is not in harmony with the exact, methodical, precise habits of Toscanelli.

CHAPTER XXXXVI

THE PHILOSOPHER AND THE NAVIGATOR

IF we examine the letter of Toscanelli we will discover that it tells Columbus no more than he himself knew from the same sources from which the Florentine derived his knowledge. If Toscanelli the philosopher had access to the *Imago Mundi* of Petrus Aliacus, so also had Columbus the navigator. If Toscanelli knew what Aristotle and Seneca, Plato and Pliny, Thucydides and Strabo said of the Western Ocean, Columbus knew it also. It was not the sort of thing discussed only by philosophers. The men who went down to the sea in ships, who sailed in the waters beyond the Pillars of Hercules, who saw the sun sink behind the Western waves, speculated on what these great authorities said. It is true that Toscanelli gave an exact measurement for the distance from Lisbon to Quinsay, the contemplated termini of this unknown road. But Columbus knew that neither Toscanelli nor any other man before him had ever gone that way. Columbus knew that even the eastern road between these two places had not been accurately mapped. And yet, we think from no source did Columbus draw such inspiration and support as from his correspondence with Toscanelli. No spirit ever so influenced the soul of Columbus as that of the calm, deliberative, speculative Paolo Toscanelli. Countless leagues of unknown waters, peopled in the minds of men with dread monsters and unclean things, lay between the shores of Europe and the spice lands of Cathay. The studious old man in his chamber in Florence, the foremost philosopher of his time, had never seen the Atlantic waves and yet at his voice of confidence and encouragement the soul of Columbus responded as to the voice of a prophet. "Go," said Toscanelli; "I go," an-

swered Columbus. The influence of the one over the other was not mechanical, but spiritual. It was not the map of Toscanelli but his philosophical approval that inspired Columbus. It was not the twenty-six spaces with their two hundred and fifty miles which encouraged the sailor. It was the abstract declaration of the greatest thinker of his age, that the project was scientifically practicable, which warmed the heart of Columbus and confirmed him in his purpose. The Florentine could tell the Genoese nothing about trimming his sails or sailing his ship. But there were other things which, if not mentioned in their correspondence, were answered in the abstract approval of the philosopher. When the ship reached a distance out into the Western sea, might not some mysterious rush of waters draw it down into its dreadful maw? Might not this vessel whose wood was fastened with iron nails yield its joints to an unknown betrayer, the destroying island told of by sailors and even put down on his map by Johannes Ruysch?¹ Would the island of demons draw his ship to destruction? Here, then, was the greatest speculative philosopher of the fifteenth century, an inquirer not merely of books but of such travellers and merchants as had sailed many waters and journeyed over many lands, saying to Columbus: "*Have no fear! The matter is not difficult! The way is not far! The honour is great! The gain is incalculable!*" No pilot could have fastened Columbus to his purpose as did the aged Florentine.

Thus, when the little fleet which this modern Tiphys guided set out upon its Western navigation, its captain bore with him the map prepared by Paolo Toscanelli. But this map was not his sailing chart. This last was no other than his own map, prepared by his own hands, with seas and lands and islands drawn in by himself and by none other.² Toscanelli's chart was set to

¹ In the Indian Ocean, also, the draughtsmen of the first engraved Ptolemy maps, Rome, 1478, placed an island or group of islands in the first *Paracellus versus Austrum*, with this legend:

"Hic lapis gignitur Herculeus obque hoc navigia que clavos fereos habent detinentur harum. Incolæ Anthropophagi sunt."

"The lodestone is found here, by means of which ships having iron nails are drawn to the shores. The people here are cannibals."

² It is true that Las Casas identifies as the chart of Toscanelli a map which Columbus had with him, but it is also true that he describes another certain chart as one constructed by Columbus himself. It was this last which Martin Alonso Pinzón had on his boat over which he and Columbus had pored, and which he finally returned on board the *Santa Maria*, on Tuesday, September 25, 1492.

a course between Lisbon and Quinsay. In front of Lisbon were the Azores. Beyond the Azores was the island of Antilia. Farther on was Cipango. And farther yet lay Cathay. The Canaries belonged to Spain and naturally the starting-point was from their shores. But the course was the course of Columbus and not that of Toscanelli.

To those who think the chart guiding Columbus was one belonging to the mysterious Pilot, we say that the words of Las Casas declaring it to be one on which Columbus had drawn islands and other things, equally apply. Martin Alonso Pinzón said that the islands depicted on that map by Columbus were in that region and in this view Columbus acquiesced. If the story of the Pilot was known only to Columbus, how came Martin Alonso Pinzón to know of the islands? If Martin Alonso Pinzón knew the Pilot's story, would he not have betrayed it, since he loved not the Genoese adventurer? We may be sure of this, Columbus made immediate, direct, practical use of neither a map furnished him by a strange pilot nor one furnished him by a wise philosopher. His own hand made this map and so far as any chart could aid him in unknown waters, his own map guided his course across the sea.

If the Toscanelli correspondence is fraudulent, we need seek no further for the perpetrator than Christopher Columbus himself. We will present, in our Chapter on "The Handwriting of Columbus," what we consider strong evidence tending to show that the transcript of the Latin letter on the guard-folio of the *Historia* of Pius II., printed at Venice in the year 1477, is in his proper hand. Andrés Bernaldez, the Curé of Los Palacios, who had a personal acquaintance with the Admiral after his return from his second voyage in 1496, declares that Columbus, while in Andalusia, had been employed in selling printed books,—*mercador de libros de estampa*. It is likely he knew of this book for, although this is the first edition of the *Historia Rerum Ubique Gestarum*, there had been many editions printed of its author's letter on a new Crusade against the Turks, and this was a subject ever dear to the heart of Columbus. The writings of one who had filled the Chair of St. Peter would be likely to attract the attention of a pious member of the Church. When then did he inscribe this letter in

the book? If the letter is a copy of a genuine letter of Toscanelli, it must have been transcribed prior to the year 1492, since after the discovery there would have been no point to the letter, and if it had been copied subsequently it would have been accompanied with the Admiral's notes and corrections.

If, however, the letter was a fabrication Columbus must have made it subsequent to the discovery or there would have been no point to the fabrication.

Las Casas, it will be remembered, said of the story:

It was common for those of us who came here in the beginning to discuss it and treat it as a certain thing, which I believe must have been derived from some one or more persons who knew it or perhaps from some one who heard it from the mouth of the Admiral himself either as a whole or in part.

It is noticeable that nowhere does Las Casas treat this report as if it could in the least injure the fame of Columbus. He mentions it, simply, as one of the determining influences leading Columbus to the discovery, and then declares that even if true, neither it nor any one thing could be singled out as the determining cause. The language of Las Casas as to the currency of the story can hardly justify us in regarding it as literally meaning that it was in active existence when the young priest landed at San Domingo sometime in the year 1502, at which time the Admiral was on his fourth and last voyage. But, even if we fix the time of the report as circulating when Las Casas first found himself at Española, it would be subsequent to 1502. If, therefore, Columbus fabricated this correspondence to counteract the effect of the story, it must have been between 1502 and 1506 when he died. Surely we may eliminate the two years and six months from May 11, 1502, to November 7, 1504, occupied in the last voyage as affording no convenient time for the fabrication, and especially since the Admiral did not touch at San Domingo, where he first could have been apprised of the rumour, until shortly before he departed for Spain. Columbus landed on the shores of Spain from his last voyage November 7, 1504, a broken man. His health was so impaired that he had to intrust his enfeebled body to the gentle pace of a mule when he ventured to travel. His patroness, Queen Isabella, was dead a few days after his return. The King on

longer listened to him. His proud spirit bent beneath his troubles. We cannot imagine a fabrication of this character made by an old man, impaired in health of body and of mind. Forgery requires vigour, alertness, shrewdness. But what shall we think of a human being who fashions a forgery with such care and exactness and never provides for its publicity? The world did not know of this correspondence until the book of Ferdinand Columbus saw the light in 1571. Can we imagine the aged Admiral peering into the future and, beholding posterity exercised over his fame as the real first discoverer of the New World, planning a deception which should not be revealed for generations?

The only motive ever assigned for such a fabrication was that of overcoming the injury to his fame caused by the circulation of the Pilot story. If that story was not true Columbus would not have paid any attention to it, for he had already endured calumny. If it *was* true, King Ferdinand would have seized it quickly, eagerly, as relieving him from the moral and legal obligation to fulfil his agreement with the Admiral and to account to him and his heirs for his *thirds* and *eighths* and *tenths*. We may admit the existence of a legend concerning a Pilot as we admit the legends of the mysterious islands, Saint Brandan, the Seven Cities, Atlantis, and the mirages of Gomera. But we cannot admit that Columbus ever received from a Pilot a map of the route to the Western world, nor do we believe that any man in his time ever went that way before him.

CHAPTER XXXVII

THE VOYAGE TO THE NORTH

THE large habitable island to which Columbus navigated in 1477 cannot well be any other than Iceland. How can we explain the error made by Columbus in describing its situation? He seems to be criticising others for placing it in 63 degrees of north latitude when even the south part of it should be, he says, 73 degrees above the equinoctial line. The situation of Iceland¹ is 66° 33' on the north side to 63° 23' on its south side.

¹ The poem of Adam of Bremen, referred to more at length below, composed about the year 1067, gives the name of Iceland, and mentions the voyage of a Bishop of Reginprecht thither, as well as of recent visits by Saxon missionaries. The geography of the Arabian Edrisi, written in the twelfth century, about the year 1153, introduces Iceland in the fourth portion of the *Seventh Cline*. In the original text the name is rendered *Lislandeh*, afterwards taking on the form *Itshlandeh*, an evident attempt to give the island the same pronunciation it has to-day. The pictured land is not an isle so much as it is an unknown or unexplored country, but that it was in part settled is seen from the representation of two cities called *Deghrateh* and *Belouri*.

Probably the earliest manuscript map to contain Iceland is the one by Claudius Clavus, and reproduced by Baron A. E. Nordenskjöld in his *Trois Cartes*. It is supposed to have been drawn as early as 1427, probably antedating the Genoese Portolano now in the Pitti Palace in Florence.

Iceland is represented for the first time upon any engraved map in the *Ptolemy* edited by Nicolaus de Donis and printed by Leonardus Hol at Ulm in 1482. This map was engraved by Johannes Schnitzen de Armszheim, and both his drawing and the work of the editor, Nicolaus de Donis, present cartographical progress and advancement. Iceland in this map extends from about 68° 30' to 70° 45'.

Thule is situated, according to the first edition of *Ptolemy*, printed by Hermanus Levilapide at Vicenza in 1475, as follows:

"Thule supra has est: cuius insule pars quo maxime ad occasum tendit.

" Gradus habet.....	29	63
Quæ maxime ad ortum.....	31-2/3	63
Quæ maxime ad arctos.....	33	63 1/4
Quæ maxime ad austrum.....	33	62 2/3
Medium insule.....	33	63

[See verso folio a 4.] "

There are no maps in this edition, charts appearing for the first time in the Rome edition of 1478. The so-called 1462 edition is mis-dated. The reader is referred to the Author's *The Continent of America* for a description of these editions.

Thule is first named by Pytheas, the Greek geographer, who lived in the last

Columbus is made to say that the southern side should be 73° instead of 63° . It contains 39,200 square miles while England counts 58,320. Columbus is here made to say that the island to which he went was as large as England. When Columbus visited it the English, particularly men from Bristol, traded very largely with its people. This alone identifies the island visited by Columbus with the island of Iceland. During the fifteenth century Bristol ships and Bristol merchants were constantly visiting its shores forming its only communication with the outside world, carrying them iron and wood, honey, corn, and wine and the useful flax, taking from them in exchange sulphur, eider-down, wool, and the salted fish. The sea did not freeze while Columbus was there. In the southern part of Iceland the mean winter temperature is $29^{\circ} 18'$ Fahrenheit. Besides the high tides the sea around the south coast of Iceland is frequently disturbed by volcanic action, a necessary condition to raise the sea twenty-six fathoms. It would seem from a careful reading of the Italian text that Columbus sailed into the northern seas in the year 1477 and went as far as Iceland

quarter of the fourth century before our era. It was he who first took observations by means of the gnomon, and with this instrument he fixed the situation of Marseilles, his native city. His writings have not been preserved to us, and we depend on what later writers report as to his works. It is claimed for him that he himself visited the British Isles and passed on to a country which he called Thule, and which he placed under the Arctic Circle at about 66° , and therefore above the latitude of Iceland's southern shore. Strabo (Book II., chap. iv.) criticises him for not telling us whether his Thule is an island or simply the most northerly piece of land. He says Pytheas claimed to have travelled all over Britain on foot, and then attributed to him a description of Thule and the places neighbouring thereto, and of which he says: "Neither earth, water, nor air exists separately, but a sort of concretion of all these, resembling a marine sponge, in which the earth, the sea, and all things were suspended, thus forming as it were, a link to unite the whole together." What is ridiculed by Strabo in this wild description is the very thing which makes us think it possible Pytheas may have actually gone as far north as Iceland. The mountains of Iceland are volcanic, and throughout the island distinct traces have been left of their activity. A singular feature of these irruptions is the marvellous quantity of fine dust discharged and the distance to which it has been carried. It is said that in the year 1104 the sand was so constantly ejected and fell in such showers that it was known ever after as the "Sand-rain Winter," and in the year 1158 the sky was so long hidden in the falling ashes that it was called the year of the "Great Darkness." As late as the year 1766 a column of ashes mounted out of the crater of Hecla, in the south part of the island, to a height of 16,000 feet into the air. At times the dust has been carried as far as Norway on the east, and to Scotland on the south. If the Marseillian philosopher had arrived off Iceland at such a time, the sea covered with this fine dust, the air filled with falling ashes, "neither earth, water, nor air appearing to exist separately," but all united in clouds and darkness, it might well have caused the description he recorded and Strabo quoted only to ridicule.

beyond and westward of Thule as put down on the maps; that he found Iceland farther to the north than on the Calderinus, the precursors of the Donis maps, or those in manuscript which he consulted. He does not say that Ptolemy misplaced it but that "others" did, while he distinctly says it is farther west than Ptolemy's western boundary. Then he or his son Ferdinand adds the statement that Ptolemy's Thule lies where he said it did, and thereupon the Spanish editor of the Italian translation of the book of Ferdinand Columbus, Alfonso Ulloa, added the information that Ptolemy's Thule was in these latter times called Frislanda. In the year 1558 there was published at Venice an account¹ of certain voyages made by the Zeni brothers, Nicolò and Antonio, at the end of the fourteenth century, into the north, in which they discovered the islands of Frislanda, Erlanda, Engronelanda, Estotilanda, and Icaria, situated under the Arctic Pole. The original manuscript of this relation had been stored away forgotten, it was asserted, in the palace of the family in Venice, until it was unearthed and published by Caterino Zeno. As this is claimed by some to be the first time the word Frislanda was used, it would have the effect of invalidating the account quoted from his father's letter by Ferdinand Columbus. This account was locked away from the eye of the world, says Caterino Zeno, from the close of the fourteenth century until the year 1558. Columbus died in 1506 and Ferdinand in 1539; how then could the name of an island baptised by the Zeni brothers as Frislanda have gotten into the *Historic*? In the first place, it requires no great originality to call any land near the Arctic Circle Frislanda or Cold Land. The Bris-

¹ " *Dei Commentarii Del*

Viaggio in Perfia di M. Caterino Zeno il K.

& delle guerre fatte nell' Imperio Perfiano,

dal tempo di Vifuncaffano in quà.

Libri due.

Et Dello Scoprimento

dell' Isole Frislanda, Eslanda, Ergrouelanda, Efto-

tilanda, & Icaria, fatto sotto il Polo Artico, da

due fratelli Zeni, M. Nicolò il K. e M. Antonio.

Libro Vno.

Con VN Disegno Particolare Di

tutte le dette parte di Tramontana da lor fcoperte.

Con gratia, et Privilegio.

In Venetia

Per Francefco Marcolini. M D L VIII."

tol sailors might have called it that without its getting down on every map. In the Ambrosian Library at Milan a sea-chart is preserved on which an island Fixlanda appears where Frislanda is in the Zeno maps. In a Catalan chart of the end of the fifteenth century the island is called Frixlanda, easily read and written Frislanda. Frislanda is believed to be the group of islands called to-day *Faroe* or *Feroe* (Danish Färøerne). This island or group on the northern side is in latitude $62^{\circ} 25'$. In the *Ptolemy* of 1482 it is Latinised into Ferensis, and as the fishermen and sailors and natives added the termination island, land, or lant, to the names of places, it is not difficult to suppose that *Faroe-Island* or *Færøisland* got itself written in the *Journal* of Columbus as Frislanda. But the more natural explanation is that Ulloa simply inserted the information as to the modern name of Frislanda just as Trivigiano inserted the personal information about Columbus in Peter Martyr's narrative. There are no quotation marks in the Italian edition to indicate what Columbus himself said and what Ferdinand said. The publication of the Zeno story in 1558 aroused widespread interest. The book was printed in Venice, where the *Historic* was printed, and it is quite probable that Ulloa, the translator, or the printer himself undertook to identify Ptolemy's Thule and the island Columbus passed on his way to Iceland as the Frislanda of the Zeni brothers and of which the world had been talking for the last thirteen years.

For many generations before the fourteenth century had closed there had been in Venice a rich and noble family by the name of Zeno, its members from time to time occupying some of the proudest positions in the Republic. One, the hero of the story, or one of the two heroes, Nicolò Zeno by name, who had fought much and sailed much, undertook one of those voyages to Flanders and to the north so common for Venetians at that age, as we have already seen. He went to the British Isles and beyond them, when the vessel was wrecked on an island he called Frislanda, where he and his companions were saved by a great chieftain, Zichmni by name, a ruler over the islands called Porlanda or Podanda, "lying over against Scotland."¹ This chief-

¹ R. H. Major, in his translation of this narrative printed for the Hakluyt Society in 1873 identifies this chieftain as Henry Sinclair of Roslyn, who in 1379 was invested by Hakon VI., King of Norway, with the earldom of the Orkneys and Caithness. Porlanda is supposed to represent the group of the Orkney Islands. Nicolò Zeno relates

tain addressed them in Latin and took them under his protection. The island bore the same name as its chief city, Frislanda, which city lay within a bay abounding in fish so that "many ships went laden therewith to supply Flanders, Brittany, England, Scotland, Norway, and Denmark." Nicolò now sent for his brother Antonio, who likewise was favourably received by Zichmni. The chieftain built a fortress at Bres, identified by some as one of the Shetland Islands, and Nicolò was made its Governor. Left there by Zichmni, who with Antonio and his ships returned to Frislanda, Nicolò resolved upon a land-discovery expedition on his own account. Accordingly in the month of July he sailed toward the north and arrived at Greenland, which he calls Engroneland and which we find on Donis's map of the *Ptolemy* of 1482 as *Engronclant*, exactly as it is written in the Zeno map accompanying the text.

"Doue trouò un monistero di frati dell ' ordine de ' Predicatori, & una Chiefa dedicata à San Tomafo appresso un monte, che butta fuoco come Vefuuio, & Etna; et cè una fontana di acqua affocata, con laquale nella Chiefa del monistero, et nelle camere de' frati si fa l'habitatione calda.¹ . . ."

"Where he found a monastery of the Order of Preachers and a church dedicated to St. Thomas close to a mountain which gave forth smoke like Vesuvius and Etna²; and there is a fountain of fiery water with which both the Church of the monastery and the cells of the brothers are heated."

Thus does he describe one of the lost European colonies founded by King Olaus in the year 999. Falling ill in Greenland Nicolò returned to Frislanda, where he soon after died, four

some remarkable deeds performed by this great chieftain, whom he places in an ungrateful rebellion against the King of Norway, and who conquered Frislanda so that "Ambassadors were sent from all parts of the island to yield the country up into his hands, taking down their ensigns in every town and village." It sounds like the march of a German Prince against the League of Free Citizens.

¹ See recto folio 49.

² The alleged existence of volcanoes in Greenland causes much perplexity, as to-day the remains of these are nowhere found. Hot springs, on the other hand, are found, Captain Graah mentioning one in the north-east corner of the island of Ounartok seventy feet in circumference, in which the water registers a temperature of 108 degrees Fahrenheit. Ivar Bardsen, steward to the Bishop of Gardar, in the fourteenth century, describes such a monastery and such springs, but not exactly as does Zeno. The monastery of Ivar Bardsen was of the St. Augustine order, and was dedicated to St. Olaus. Professor Rafn places this in lat. 60° 26', near the lake which lies on the right-hand side of the inner recess of the Fjord of Fessermuit. These springs were so hot that, according to Nicolò, fish and food were cooked in them, and bread when put into brass pots without water was baked as if in an oven. Hot water was conveyed by conduits under ground for the cultivation of gardens.

years after his brother Antonio came into that country. The latter succeeded to his wealth and honours and was employed, as he had been, in making discoveries. It so happened, says the narrative, that six and twenty years before, four fishing boats had been driven by a storm one thousand miles or more to the westward of Frislanda to an island called Estotiland. One of the boats was wrecked and six men who were in it were brought by the inhabitants into a fair and populous city, where one that spoke Latin expressed the King's pleasure in receiving them, and there they tarried five years, since, as the narrative says, "they could do no otherwise." The people had intercourse with the people of Greenland, whence they exported furs, brimstone, and pitch. Toward the south there was a great and populous country called *Drogio* whither they were sent by the King. They seem to have gone farther south even than *Drogio*. One who was ever afterward known as the Fisherman finally escaped after thirteen years spent in teaching one people after another the vulgar art of fishing with a net. An expedition was fitted out, of which Zichmni and Antonio Zeno were the leaders, to go to the country described by the Fisherman, who died shortly before they left Frislanda. They experienced much stormy weather, so that for a long time they were driven helplessly before the wind, when they found themselves in a region called *Icaria*.¹ From this they sailed in a westerly direction

¹ Major identified *Icaria* with Kerry in Ireland, but, as it seems to us, without warrant. The account says that they discovered land to the westward; that among the people who came down to the shore was a man from the Shetland Isles: that he told them it was an island called *Icaria*: that they sailed around the island in search of a harbour, which they found on the eastern side: that they doubled the north cape of the island, and that there or thereabouts they tried to get speech again with the man from Shetland, but in vain: that after leaving *Icaria* they sailed six days to the westward, and then, the wind shifting to the south-west and the sea becoming rough, they sailed four days with the wind aft and *finally* discovered land. If a sailor really wrote this, he did not mean that he sailed west for six days, then north-east for four, and *then* an indefinite number of more days in an indefinite number of directions, but he used his adverb *finalmente* to qualify the ten days' voyage from *Icaria* to the land he discovered, otherwise it would have been absurd to mention any directions or any number of days in which he sailed with a south-west wind behind him.

Major is attracted by the statements that when they saw this island of *Icaria*, they sailed *around* it and entered an harbour on the east side, and that when they asked the name of the island, they were told it was called *Icaria*, and he declares that the word *Icaria* could easily be made out of Kerry. Now when Antonio departed from Frislanda he sailed westward, passing Ilofe, an island he himself puts down westward of the south end of Frislanda, and the wind being in his favour he "pushed on," as Major translates *passammo avanti*, but evidently he pushed on in a westwardly direction; they then had a storm lasting eight days, after which they sailed with a

for six days, and then the wind shifting, they sailed four days with the wind aft and finally discovered land which was Greenland, and to the harbour into which they entered they gave the name of Trin. Here Zichmni, attracted by the country, remained to found a colony and Antonio sailed for home. After sailing twenty days to the eastward and five to the south-east he arrived at Neome and in three days more reached Frislanda. This entire story, if such a narrative can be called entire, is told by Nicolò Zeno, Junior, a descendant in the fifth generation of the second brother Antonio. He was born in the year 1515 and when a child—but we will let him confess his sin himself:

“Tutte queste lettere furono scritte da M. Antonio à M. Carlo suo fratello, & mi dolgo che il libro, & molte altre scritture pur in questo medesimo propofito fiano andati non sò come miseramente di male; perche fendo io ancor fanciullo, & peruenutomi alle mani, ne sapendo ciò che fossero, come fanno i fanciulli le squarciai, & mandai tutte à male, ilche non posso, se non con grandissimo dolore, ricordarmi hora. Pur, perche non si perda una sì bella memoria di cose, quel che ho potuto hauere in detta materia, ho posto per ordine nella narratione di sopra; acciò che se ne fodisfaccia in qualche parte questa età, che più che alcun altra mai passata, mercè di tanta scoprimenti di nuoue terre fatte in quelle parti, doue à punto meno si pensaua, che ui fossero, è studiosissima delle narrationi, nuoue, & delle discoperte de' paesi non conosciuti fatte dal grande animo, & grande industria de i nostri maggiori.”

“All these letters were written by M. Antonio to M. Carlo his brother, and I regret that the book and moreover many other writings on the same subject have unfortunately come to evil, I know not how; for, being but a little boy and they having come into my hands, not knowing what they were, I tore and destroyed them as children do, which I cannot now recall

prosperous wind, and “discovered land on the west.” A prosperous wind for Antonio would have been a wind from the east, as he was bound on a westward voyage. Now as they afterward sailed *around* this island, which was the land they “discovered on the west,” it is natural to suppose they landed first on the east side of the extreme north end. When they inquired the name of the island and who was the governor, they were answered “that the island was called *Icaria*, and that all the Kings that reigned there were called *Icari*.” Now as early as the year 1210 King John had divided the larger part of Ireland into the several countries of Dublin, including Wicklow, Meath including West Meath, Louth, Carlow, Kilkenny, Wexford, Waterford, Cork, Limerick, Kerry, and Tipperary. These regions include the land to the north and east of Kerry. But it was at the extreme north end or on the east side of the island that Antonio was told the island was called *Icaria* and all the kings *Icari*. Moreover, the accompanying map of the Zeno narrative plainly locates the island of *Icaria*, and it is seen far westward of Frislanda and to the north of that island. The atlas of Ortelius, published in 1570, twelve years after the Zeno story, places the island of *Icaria* westward of Iceland (which it also calls Thule) and north of Frislanda. (See Ortelius, folio 45 and maps.)

without the deepest regret. Nevertheless in order that so interesting a memorial of things may not be lost, I have placed in order what I have been able to preserve of the said matter, in the above narration; so that this age may be satisfied because of it, in some degree: which age,—thanks to so many discoveries of new lands made in those regions where it was least thought they might be,—is most studious of the new narrations, and of the discoveries of unknown countries made by the great courage and great industry of our ancestors."

This Nicolò Zeno Junior found a map which had been made by Nicolò, the traveller, or by his brother Antonio, and, while he does not say so, the general impression is that Nicolò Junior took great liberties with that document, particularly in the matter of nomenclature. He says of it:

"Di queste parti di Tramontana m'è paruto di trarne una copia dalla carta de nauigare, che ancora mi truouo hauere tra le antiche nostre cofe di cafa; laquale, con tutto che fia Marcia, & uecchia di molti anni, m'è riufcita affai bene; & posta dauanti gli occhi di che fi diletta di queste cofe seruirà quafi per un lume à dargli intelligentia di quel, che fenz' effa non fi potrebbe cofi ben fapere."¹

"It has appeared proper to me to make a copy of the sea-chart of these northern regions, which I find I still possess among the antiquities of our house: in which, notwithstanding the map's decayed condition and its great age, I have succeeded very well: and being placed before the eyes of those who delight in these things, it will serve almost as a light to make plain that which without it could not be understood."

The reader will understand from this narrative, then, that Nicolò Zeno first went to an island which he called Frislanda and from there wrote letters to his brother Antonio, or to his other brother, Carlo; that Nicolò made a voyage to Greenland; that after a time Antonio followed his brother to Frislanda and himself made a voyage to some place to the westward, whence he reached Greenland in a sail of four days with a south-west wind at his back; that he wrote home letters to his brother Carlo and likewise wrote an account of what he had seen, accompanying his writings with a map or chart; that these documents lay uncared-for and undiscovered in the Zeno family until a descendant of Antonio in the fifth generation, another Nicolò, found them as a boy, destroying some and damaging others; that when this destructive youth reached man's estate, he patched up the fragments, weaving them into his own story,

¹ See verso folio 460.

The Zeno Map.

making a copy of the decayed map and publishing the whole at Venice in the year 1558. From the time of the alleged travels of the Zeno brothers until the printing of this book, two centuries and a half had passed. America had been visited by Columbus, explored by Vespuccius, and peopled by the Spaniards. The world had been circled by the ship of Magellan. John Cabot, by adoption a Venetian citizen, had gone out from Bristol and had passed over by the north to the New World. The Corte-reals had been there also. Many accounts of these voyages had been published and many maps and charts had been printed showing Northern lands and giving the names of Northern regions. Yet, this second Nicolò Zeno never breathes a word of his ancestors having visited the shores of the New World before them. Nor can one possibly read the narrative in such a way as to infer that either Nicolò or Antonio had ever been nearer the New World than Greenland. If any European in that age and as told in that story reached the shores of America it was the Fisherman, twenty-six years before Zichmni and Antonio Zeno attempted their voyage and in which they certainly never reached America. This Fisherman was wrecked on an island smaller than Iceland more than one thousand miles to the westward of Frislanda, the inhabitants of which had intercourse more or less regular with Engroneland, from which they exported furs. In the library of the King were Latin books. The Fisherman visited a country to the southward where the natives were rude and practised cannibalism. Farther south the people were more refined and had cities and temples dedicated to idols, in which they sacrificed men. When the Fisherman left that country he went by way of the *woods* to Drogio. That the publication of the Zeno story profoundly affected geographers is true. In the *Ptolemy* edited by Girolamo Rvscelli, printed at Venice in 1561, the Zeno map is inserted in a somewhat reduced form. In the year 1570, Ortelius issued his superb atlas, and on his map of the Northern regions we see the lands and the nomenclature bestowed by the Nicolò Zeno, Junior interpreting his ancestor's writings, but with the corrected renderings of Ortelius himself. And on this map we find Frislanda south and west of Iceland, or Islant, which latter island Ortelius calls Thule. Icaria is west of Iceland and is an island not much larger than the island of Grislada, placed

by both Zeno and Ortelius off the Southeast corner of Iceland. South of Icaria and far out in the Western sea is Drogio¹, but it is an island and not to be reached from Estotiland, which Ortelius considers continental land. North-east of Drogio, far, far north, lies Groenlandt, or Engroneland, with Trin at its southern extremity. Ortelius may have thought that the Fisherman had gone to Estotiland, but not that Zeno himself had gone there, and notwithstanding the assertion made by Antonio, who heard it from the Fisherman himself, that Estotiland was an island, Ortelius makes it into *terra firma*.

It is impossible from reading the Zeno story to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion as to what lands were seen by Antonio Zeno or by the Fisherman, but on the other hand one cannot arrive at a satisfactory conclusion as to its being a pure fabrication. If Nicolò Zeno was concocting a story out of whole cloth he would have woven into it pictures of Labrador, Tierra de Nvrnberg, Angoulême, Larcadia (Arcadia), Florida, and Mexico, all of which countries were then on the maps and which he must have had before his eyes in the Gastaldi *Ptolemy* printed in his own city just ten years before he published his own work. He would have located some of the scenes of his drama in at least one or more of these regions and he would have let fall some word telling the reader that neither Columbus nor Vesputius, neither Cabot nor Corte-real, neither Verrazzano nor Cartier, first discovered or first explored coast and bay and river of North America, but that Nicolò Zeno and Antonio Zeno, his ancestors, first of southern Europeans, sailed to those regions and that their shades stood waiting for the deferred honours. There is wanting a *motif* for the fabrication of the narrative.

Ferdinand Columbus speaks of this reference to Iceland by his father as occurring in a note or annotation (*in una memoria ò annotazione*) concerning the habitable zones, such a note as we find on the guard-folios or margins of five or six books still preserved in the *Biblioteca Columbina* at Seville. There are several holograph notes of Columbus in which he refers to the habitable zones and several where he comments on Guinea and San Jorge da Mina, to which last-named fortress he undoubtedly went in one of his repeated voyages south, but we find no manuscript note touching his voyage to the north in the year

¹ It is inserted on the map as Drogeo.

1477.¹ As reported by Ferdinand in the Italian translation of his life of his father, otherwise known as the *Historie*, Columbus is made to say in the first person:

I navigated in the year 1477 in the month of February 100 leagues beyond the island of Thule, the southern part of which is 73° distant from the Equinoctial Line and not 63° as some make it: it does not lie within the line which includes the occident of Ptolemy, but is much farther westward. And to this island, which is as large as England, the English go with their merchandise, especially those from Bristol. And at the time that I went there, the sea was not frozen, although there was such a tide there that in some places it rose 26 fathoms and fell as much. [And it is very true that the Thule of which Ptolemy makes mention lies where he says: and this by moderns is called Frislanda.]

Commentators on this passage have sought to explain the incongruity of Columbus's assertion that the island of Thule has its southern part in latitude 73° above the equinoctial and not in latitude 63° , and the assertion immediately following this to the effect that Ptolemy's Thule lies where he said it did, in latitude 63° , and called by moderns Frislanda, by imagining that Ferdinand or the Italian editor added the last few lines, which we have inclosed in brackets. If they had quoted from Las Casas instead of from Ferdinand they would have seen that the Bishop of Chiapas, who had before him not only Ferdinand's manuscript but the original memorandum or annotation of Columbus himself, makes the note end with the passage as to the tides. The passage coming next he quotes as his own ideas on the subject or as Ferdinand's, but certainly not as an expression of the Admiral's. But this shortening of the quotation does not explain the words "*and not 63° as some make it,*" which phrase is in the very middle of the passage. The information that after the tide rose twenty-six fathoms, it *fell as much*, is not the language of a sailor-man. If Ferdinand or Ulloa introduced the final passage, one or the other must have inserted the few words farther back, which make an explanation necessary.

Whenever in reading the *Historie* we are confronted with apparent incongruities and then meet critics who explain them

¹ Las Casas, in his *Historia*, vol. i., p. 48, also speaks of this incident as found in the *anotaciones*.

Scholars always understand these *anotaciones* as referring to holograph notes scattered through the books and manuscripts belonging to the Discoverer, and which Las Casas had in his possession, for a time at least, while writing his history.

by accusing Ferdinand of wilfully misrepresenting the achievements of his father and crediting him with adventures he had never had, we feel like inquiring why, if Ferdinand did make up these stories, he did not make them more probable. He had learning, he was skilful in writing, he was a geographer or cosmographer himself. How is it possible he could have permitted himself to fabricate a story easily detected by its jagged points!

After all is said and done and written, we must fall back on conjecture, a mental attitude in which students as well as readers of history often find themselves. We may, then, conjecture that Columbus is trying to say, through the medium of Ferdinand, his son, or Ulloa, who translated the latter's book relating to his father, something like this:

I navigated in the month of February in the year 1477 very far to the north, to an island 100 leagues beyond Iceland, which Iceland I take to be Ptolemy's Thule. This northernmost island is therefore the extremity of the habitable globe so far as I know it and is therefore to be known as the *Ultima Thule*: the island to which I went has its southerly coast in latitude 73° , while Ptolemy makes the southerly coast of his territorial extremity to be only 63° : my *Ultima Thule* is also very much farther to the westward than that of Ptolemy: the Iceland of which I was speaking is as large an island as England, and by the way, speaking of England I may say that the English, and particularly the people of Bristol, go there to trade their merchandise: when I was there the sea was not frozen and there was such a tide that in some places it rose 26 fathoms.

We are in possession of fac-similes of multitudinous notes believed to be in the hand of Columbus covering many of the events of his life. In their proper place many of these will be given and the reader may judge for himself whether or not these annotations, with their peculiar characteristics, abbreviations, and mysterious marks are correctly quoted in the many histories we have of the great Discoverer and his times, but here, in regard to this note, we are literally at sea, a northern sea, in what for us is an uninhabitable zone, and we believe the utmost any one can do is, as we have frankly done, to indulge in a conjecture.

There have been writers who have seen in the silence of Columbus concerning earlier voyages of which they assume he must have learned in his travels beyond Thule in the year 1477, evidence of a deceitful nature. They assert that his visit to that Northern region must have put him in possession of the

facts connected not only with the Icelandic discoveries but of the later ones made by the Zeni brothers and that he never breathed a word of his knowledge to King or priest or sailor, pretending that he first conceived of the western road to the Indies as afterward he was the very first to travel it. If the Zeni voyages said to have taken place ever were made, they would have been continued and an intercourse between Engroneland and Drogio and the Southern lands would not have been interrupted. But it would seem that these discoveries were not even known as legends. Columbus doubtless sailed to Iceland on a Bristol ship, and tarried there while the vessel unloaded its cargo and took in a new one, but if he had heard these narratives, these legends, he certainly would have made mention of them had they struck him as real or as important.¹ Suppose, however, that there had been repeated to him the details of the stories, what would it profit Columbus in the execution of his projects! The Indies lay not that way! The circle of the globe on which he proposed to sail was nearer the tropic of Cancer than that which guarded the Arctic seas. If the northern route had been kept perpetually open until his day, he would not have taken it. The discovery of others would have availed him nothing. Before he went northward he had formulated his plans, created the scenic drama in which he was to act, and studied well his own part, rehearsing it many times as he sailed on other seas. Therefore we say that if Columbus had ever heard the tale of the Sagas²

¹ There are some minds to which the difference between territory and geography never occurs. A half-inch circle on the map represents an island, but he who first sailed around that island may have taken days and weeks for his journey. On the map the island has a name, but when the voyager visits it there is no gigantic sign swinging from some lofty height revealing the island's name and size and character, with the legend, "This is Frislanda," "This is Thule." When Columbus visited Iceland no ancient harpist came down to the shore and recited the story of Eric or the adventures of the Fisherman. No one told him where he could find Estotiland or Drogio.

Laing, in his Introduction to the *Heimskringla*, the old chronicle of the kings of Norway, says it is known that Bishop Mangus was in Iceland in the year 1477, and the inference is that Columbus must have met him and heard the stories of the earlier westward expeditions.

² The story told in the Sagas found its way into the hands of Adam of Misnie, a Canon of the Cathedral Chapter of Bremen in Germany, who put it into a poem, a sort of cosmographical treatise. It is entitled by some editors *De Situ Danie*, and by others *Descriptio Insularum Aquilonis*. The author, Adam of Bremen, visited the Court of the Danish King Svend Estridsson after the year 1060, where he secured the material for his work. He died in 1076. His manuscript is in the Imperial Library at Vienna. There is a passage which reads:

He spoke of an island in that ocean discovered by many, which is called Wineland,

or the story of the Fisherman, the prow of his ship would still have turned westward from the shores of Gomera and his watchful eye would have been fixed on the south rather than on the north. But our Columbus was no deceiver. He was not a secretive man. If he knew those tales and believed them and thought them worthy of repetition, he surely would have repeated them himself. He withheld from others no credit and he never appropriated to himself the honours of another. A characteristic based on a fancy when inconsistent with other characteristics based on facts may not be allowed a place in our estimation of a man. Deceit is inconsistent with the frank, open, determined, courageous seaman. It never yet did flourish in wet and salted air. We have no quarrel with any one who seeks to tear down or destroy in the interests of truth, but thus far no strand has been woven nor cable wound strong enough to shake from its place the statue of Columbus.

for the reason that vines grow wild there which yield the best of wine. Moreover, that grain unsown grows there abundantly is not a fabulous fancy, but from the accounts of the Danes, we know it to be a fact. Beyond this island, it is said, that there is no habitable land in that ocean, but all those regions which are beyond are filled with insupportable ice and boundless gloom, to which Martian thus refers:

"One day's sail beyond Thule the sea is frozen. This was essayed not long since by that enterprising Northmen's prince, Harold [King Harold Hardrede], who explored the extent of the northern ocean with his ship, but was scarcely able by retreating to escape in safety from the gulf's enormous abyss, where before his eyes the vanishing bounds of earth were hidden in gloom."

This description of Adam of Bremen was not printed until 1595, and as other manuscript copies have not been found in European libraries, Columbus probably never saw or heard thereof.

CHAPTER XXXXVIII

THE MARRIAGE OF COLUMBUS

COLUMBUS married in Portugal a young woman of good family, but when this marriage took place we do not know. Ferdinand Columbus, in his *Historic*, says:

“ Et, percioche fi portaua molto honoratamente, & era huomo di bella preferenza, & che non fi partiua dall' honesto, auuenne, che vna gentildonna, chiamata Donna Filippa Mogniz, di nobil fangue, Caualliera nel monasterio d'ogni Santi, doue l'Ammiraglio ufaua di andare a messa, prese tanta prattica, & amicitia con lui, che diuenne sua moglie. Ma, percioche il suo fuocero, chiamato Pietro Mogniz Perestrelo, era già venuto a morte, se n'andarono a star con la fuocera: doue viuendo insieme, & vedendolo effa tanto affettionato alla Cosmografia, gli raccontò, come il detto Perestrelo suo marito era stato grand'huomo per mare, & che insieme con altri duo Capitani con licentia del Rè di Portogallo era andato a scoprir terre, con patto, che, fatte tre parti di quel, che trouaffero, eleggesse colui, a chi toccasse la forte. Col quale accordo partiti alla volta del Sudoeste, giunfero all' isola della Madera, & di Porto Santo, luoghi, che fino a quei tempi non erano stati scoperti. Et, perciò che l' isola della Madera era maggiore, fecero di quella due parti, & le terza fu l'isola di Porto Santo, che toccò per forte al detto Perestrelo suo fuocero, il quale n'ebbe il gouerno, fin che venne a morte. La onde, perche l'intendere cotali navigationi, & historia piaceua molto all' Ammiraglio, la fuocera gli diede le scritture, & carte di nauigare, che di suo marito gli erano rimase.”

“ And, since he behaved himself very honourably, and was a man of fine presence, and who did not deviate from honesty, it happened that a lady, named Donna Filippa Mogniz, of noble blood, ‘Cavalliera’ in the monastery of All Saints, where the Admiral was accustomed to go to mass, contracted such friendly relations with him, that she became his wife. But, as his father-in-law, named Pietro Mogniz Perestrelo, was already dead, they went to live with his mother-in-law: where, living together, and seeing him fond of Cosmography, she told him how the said Perestrelo, her husband, was a man skilful in seamanship, and that together with two other captains with licence from the King of Portugal he had gone to discover lands with the agreement that whatever they might find, having

divided it into three parts, should be allotted by chance. With which agreement having gone to the south-west, they arrived at the island of Madeira and of Porto Santo, places which up to that time had not been discovered. And, as the island of Madeira was larger, they divided it into two parts, and the third part was the island of Porto Santo, which was bestowed by lot upon the said Perestrelo, his father-in-law, who governed it until his death. Therefore, because the knowledge of such voyages and history pleased the Admiral greatly, his mother-in-law gave him the documents and sea-charts which her husband had left."

A cloud of obscurity, more or less impenetrable, seems to surround the family of Columbus and the years of his life leading up to the period of his fame. Ferdinand Columbus, when he tells us something of his father, frequently connects a fact with a fancy, confusing the whole. We have seen his anxiety to identify his father's family with the great and noble, and in this passage we see him seeking to connect the wife of Columbus with family honours not strictly her own.

In 1418 or 1419 João Gonsalvez Zarco and Tristam Vas Teixeyra, two Portuguese navigators, sailed to the island of Porto Santo through certain representations made by a Spanish pilot, Juan de Morales, who, while a prisoner in Morocco, had heard the romantic story of Robert Machin¹ and his discovery of the Madeiras, from some fellow captives who had been companions with the young Englishman. There is nothing to show that

¹ The islands of Porto Santo and Madeira are said to owe their discovery to a romantic incident. In the reign of Edward III. of England, a native of that island, named Robert Machin, fell in love with a lady, Anne d'Arset, or as some call her, Anne Dorset, of a higher family station than his own. Her people secured his imprisonment, thinking thus to separate the lovers, and then united her to a nobleman of wealth. The lady and her husband lived near Bristol, and when Machin was released, through the good offices of a friend who introduced himself into her family as a groom, he bore her away to a vessel which he had equipped for a brief voyage to the coast of France. The heavens smiled as they left the coast, but turned against them, and drove them in a storm far out to sea, when they landed on a strange island. Here the lady quickly died, and her lover built over her grave a chapel of stone on which he engraved her name and virtues, and where five days after he was found faithful but dead.

This story is derived from at least two independent sources somewhat differing in details and circumstances. The principal feature of the story was told in print first in the *Tratado dos Varios Caminhos por Onde . . .* Lisbon, 1563, by Antonio Galvano, a Portuguese writer and soldier, and Hakluyt incorporated it in his *Principall Navigations*, printed at London in 1589. This account fixes the event in the year 1344 (an impossible date when it comes to connect a hearer of the story, a captive in Morocco, with its subsequent rediscovery in 1419, and an unnecessary date, since Edward III. lived until 1377), and calls the Englishman Macham, saying that he anchored his vessel at the place on the island of Madeira subsequently called after him *Machico*; this account carries the rest of his company away from the island by another storm, leaving Macham and the lady he had stolen alone; she, dying soon, was

this expedition of Zarco was shared in by any member of the Perestrello family, and certainly not by any one calling himself Pietro Mogniz Perestrello. Francisco Brandão in his *Monarchia Lusytana*¹ refers to an act dated November 18, 1460, in which Prince Henry donated certain revenues from the islands of Porto Santo and Madeira for ecclesiastical purposes as if the said islands had been yielding these revenues for thirty-five years, which would give us the date of 1425 for their colonisation. Gomez Eannes de Azurara,² a Portuguese historian of the fifteenth century, places the colonisation in the year 1420. In a letter dated November 1, 1446, and inserted in the *Saudades da Terra*³ compiled by Azevedo, Prince Henry is made to say:

Porque eu fiz esta mercee ao dito Bartholomeu Perestrello por elle ser ho primeyro que per meu mandado a dita ylha poborou.

"Because I granted this favour to the said Bartholomeu Perestrello, he being the first one sent by me to the said island to colonise it."

buried by her lover, who then escaped in a boat he fashioned from a tree, and, to the marvel of the inhabitants, landed on the coast of Africa. The features here related which are not found in the story as told by Galvano come from an unpublished Portuguese manuscript, dated 1508, or half a century earlier than the Galvano publication, and compiled by a Moravian printer then residing in Lisbon, by the name of Valentin, and who, in connection with Nicolas de Saxonia, had produced in that Portuguese city in 1495 a most pretentious work in four large volumes, entitled *Uita Christi*.

When the companions of Machin reached Africa they were enslaved. To one of their fellow sufferers who was a Spaniard, Juan de Morales, they told their story and revealed the location of the island. He was redeemed from captivity from the fund bequeathed for that purpose by Don Sancho, youngest son of the King Ferdinand I. of Aragon, but he was captured again at sea by the Portuguese navigator João Gonsalvez Zarco, to whom he in turn told the story, and with whom he sailed to make a rediscovery. King Ferdinand died at Igualada, near Barcelona, on April 2, 1416, having made his will some months before when at Perpignan. His son, Don Sancho, died about the same time. If we are to believe this account, Juan de Morales must have been in captivity at or about 1377, which would be allowing the latest date for the occurrence of the Machin discovery and the captivity of his crew, while he could not have been ransomed by Don Sancho's legacy until at least 1416. This would give him a captivity of nearly forty years. It might be that twenty-five or thirty years had passed from the capture of the crew until, some years previous to 1416, they fell in with a Spanish stranger newly a captive, and then revealed to him the story of their discovery.

The fact that the story has been told by Portuguese and Spaniards, while it generously accords priority of discovery to an Englishman, is a strong confirmation of at least the single feature of a landing on the Madeira Islands previous to their discovery and colonisation by the Portuguese.

¹ Published at Lisbon, 1650-1672, folio, Part VI., lib. xix.

² *Chronica de Descobrimento e Conquista de Guiné, Escripita por Mandado de el Rey Afonso V.* Paris, 1841.

³ *Fructuoso, Saudades da Terra, Historia das Ilhas do Porto-Santo, Madeira, Desertas e Selvagens*, edited by M. de Azevedo, Funchal, 1873, p. 659.

Prince Henry is made to indicate the date of 1425 as that of his colonising the island of Porto Santo and thus, as Bartholomeu Perestrello was its first Governor, we may fix that year as the date when he first went to Porto Santo to rule over an island colony, out in what had once been the Sea of Darkness, that sea whose mists and terrors the presence of man was to dispel through audacity and familiarity.

This Bartholomeu Perestrello is said to have been the son of Philippon Palestrello and of Caterina Visconti, and it is further asserted that he came of a family distinguished in the history of Plaisance.¹ The same authority says that Philippon was the youngest son of Gabriello Palestrello and Bartolina Bracciforti, and that he departed from Italy and settled in Portugal about the year 1371. Bartholomeu Perestrello was a member of the household of the young Prince Don João, and afterward of that of Prince Henry. Although this Bartholomeu probably was placed in charge of the colony at Porto Santo as early as 1425, the date of his governorship is found in the letters patent to him November 1, 1446. Harris explains this deferred grant by assuming that the first efforts at colonisation had failed and that a second and more successful attempt was made about the time of his formal appointment, and in confirmation of this supposition he cites the well-known story of the fearful multiplication of rabbits from a single female of that species brought over by the colonisers and which littered on the voyage. The legend goes that the entire colony was compelled by this circumstance to yield the land to the small but destructive beasts. The rabbit certainly does increase very rapidly, but on an island as small and as barren as Porto Santo the dispute between it and man should have easily been decided in favour of the latter. In the year 1455 Alvise da Cadamosto,² the Venetian navigator, visited Porto Santo and he distinctly states that *Bartholo-*

¹ *Bernardo Palastrelli, il Suocero e la Moglie di Cristoforo Colombo*, Piacenza, 1876.

² The first printed account of the voyage made by Aloysius da Ca da Mosto, or Luis Cadamosto, is found in the *Paesi Nouamente Retronati*, printed at Vicenza in 1507. Here the date for the visit to the Madeira Islands is 1455. In the *Neue Welt*, which is a German translation by Jobst Ruchamer, printed at Nuremberg in 1508, the same date is given. In the year 1532 Simon Grynaeus published his *Novus Orbis* at Bâle, in the month of March, and at Paris in the month of November, 1532. By some strange error the date of Cadamosto's visit to the Madeiras is 1505; that is to say, they came to Porto Santo, Portus Sanctus, about noon of March 25, 1505. This error is repeated in the 1537 Bâle edition.

meus Pollastrellus was then Governor. Toward the close of the year 1457 Bartholomeu must have died, for in May, 1458, Prince Henry, by virtue of his authority as Grand Master of the Order of Christ, appointed Pedro Correa da Cunha, the son-in-law of Bartholomeu Perestrello, to be Governor of Porto Santo. When Bartholomeu II. became of age and returned from Africa, where he had been employed in arms, he claimed his rights as Governor and obtained them March 15, 1473. Pedro Correa died in 1499 and was buried in the chapel of St. João in the monastery of Carmo at Lisbon. It was this Pedro Correa who affirmed to Columbus that he himself had seen a piece of carved wood and some canes or bamboo stalks at Porto Santo, which had been driven ashore by the west wind. Bartholomeu, the first Governor, married ¹ Beatriz Furtada de Mendça, by whom he had Catherine Furtada, married to Rodriguez de Vasconcellos de Caniço; Hizeu Perestrello, married to Pedro Correa de Cunha, and Beatriz Furtada, who seems to have remained unmarried. This Bartholomeu next married Isabel Moñiz, by whom he had a son Bartholomeu II., but neither Fructuoso ² nor Cordeyro ³ mentions a daughter. In order to place the wife of Columbus in her proper family orbit it would seem necessary to furnish her with at least one sister. In the public inquiry held by the Fiscal in 1513 to ascertain what part the Admiral really had taken in the discovery of the mainland and the coasts of Paria, one of the witnesses, Garcia Hernandez, physician,⁴ declared, speaking of Christopher Columbus:

*El se vino de la Corte é se iba derecho de esta villa á la villa de Huelva, para fallar y verse con un su cuñado, casado con Hermana de su Muger, é que á la sazón estaba, é que había nombre Muliar.*⁵

"He came away from the Court and was going straight from this town to the town of Huelva in order to find and converse with a brother-in-law of his who was married to a sister of his wife and who was living at the time and was named Muliar."

¹ It would seem that this Bartholomeu had a wife named Margarida Martins as early as 1431, so that he may have had three wives. (MSS. of La Torre do Tombo, lib. iv., folio 128 on the verso.)

² Gaspar Fructuoso, *Saudades da Terra*, cap. x., p. 51.

³ Cordeyro, *Historia Insulana*, lib. iii., cap. iii.

⁴ This Garcia Hernandez, who in 1513 is called a physician, was on board the *Pinta* on the first voyage in the capacity of *despensero*, not a steward, as some report, but one who had in charge the medicines for the expedition.

⁵ Navarrete, vol. iii., p. 561.

There was then living in the year 1491 at Huelva in Andalusia a sister of Philippa Moñiz, whose married name was Muliarte or Muliarte or Mulierte. Diego Columbus, the son of the Admiral and of Philippa Moñiz, made a will at Las Cuevas, March 16, 1509, in which document the twenty-sixth item reads as follows:

"Manda veintiseis: Item mando que a mi tia *Brigulaga Moñiz* serán dados por fus tercios veinte mil maravedis en cada un año mientras que viviere para fus necefidades, computados los diez mil maravedis que le folia dar."

"Legacy 26: Also, I direct that there shall be given to my aunt *Brigulaga Moñiz*, through her agents, 20,000 maravedis each year while she lives, for her necessities, having deducted the 10,000 maravedis which I have been accustomed to give her."

In the letter or memorandum written to Diego by the Admiral as he was setting out on his fourth voyage, reproduced in full in that portion of our Work relating to that voyage, one of the items making disposition of money is as follows:

"A Violante Nuñiz da diez mil maravedis cada año, por tercios": "Give to Violante Nuñiz (or Muñiz) ten thousand maravedis each year by the hands of her agents."

The following most interesting document undoubtedly refers to this Violante Nuñiz under the name of Briolanje Muñiz, wife of Miguel¹ Muliarte of Huelva:

"Treslado de una cédula que se dió á suplicación del almirante, señalada de los del consejo de la ynquisición.

"El rey y le reyna: devotos pādres ynquisidores de la herética praviidad de la çibdad de Sevilla y su arçobispado. Nos vos encargamos y mandamos que los bienes muebles y ráyzes que fueron de Bartolomé de Sevilla,

¹ If this Miguel Muliarte is the husband of the sister of Philippa Moñiz, the wife of the Admiral, he is the same individual who accompanied Columbus on his second voyage, and who caused no little trouble. In the instructions which the sovereigns gave Juan Aguado, probably on April 9, 1495, we read:

"Lo octavo, que dexe venir á fray Jorge y á Don Fernando y á Bernaldo Balenciano y á Miguel Muliarte porque acá han quexado á Sus Altezas d'ello, diciendo que los tiene i maltrata."

"The eighth. That he [the Admiral] shall allow Friar Jorge and Don Fernando and Bernaldo Balenciano and Miguel Muliarte to come, because they have complained of him here to their Highnesses, saying that he detains them there and maltreats them."

The Admiral reached the city of Isabella on Española after his famous voyage along the coast of Cuba on September 29, 1494, and it was probably after this date that the trouble arose which led to the complaint here mentioned.

vezino de Huelva, y por vuestro mandado están secrestados en poder de Diego Alonso, escrivano, vezino de la dicha villa de Huelva, los pongáys en secrestación de Miguel Mulierte, vezino de la dicha çibdad de Sevilla, (y) Briolanje Muñiz, su muger, para que los ellos tengan en secreto, fasta que su cabsa sea determinada. non permitáys que d'ellos disponga el vuestro regebdor cosa alguna, syn primero nos lo faser saber, y veáys nuestro mandamiento, y no fagades ende ál, porque así cunple á nuestro servicio. de Barcelona, á .XXX. de mayo de .XCIII. años.' "

" Copy of a Royal Order which was given at the entreaty of the Admiral, and was addressed to the members of the Council of the Inquisition.

" ' The King and the Queen: Devoted father Inquisitors of the heretical depravity of the city of Seville and its archbishopric: We charge and command you that the real and personal property which belonged to Bartholomé de Sevilla, citizen of Huelva, and which by your order were confiscated and placed in the keeping of Diego Alonso, Notary Public, citizen of the said village of Huelva, you shall place in confiscation with Miguel Mulierte, citizen of the said city of Seville (and) Briolanje Muñiz, his wife, in order that they may hold them in confiscation until their disposition shall be determined upon. Do not permit your receiver to dispose of any part whatsoever of this property without first making it known to us. See our order and do not disobey it, for in this manner our service is fulfilled. From Barcelona, May 30 '93.' "

In two instances where this document was printed from the original the name of the wife of Miguel is given as Violante Muñiz.¹

This Briolanje Moñiz was the sister of Philippa, as Diego calls her his aunt.² If Philippa was the daughter of Bartholomeu Perestrello, the first Governor of the island of Porto Santo, he must have been the father of at least two daughters by his wife Isabel Moñiz, namely, Philippa and Briolanje or Violante, who was married to a man called Miguel Muliar or Muliarte, and as we have said, no Portuguese or genealogical writer mentions another daughter.³

¹ Duro speaks of this document first in *Colon y la Historia Póstuma*, and in his *Nebulosa de Colon* he published it as from the original in the collection of Vargas Ponce. There he makes the passage read *Miguel Mulierte Vezino de la Dicha Çibdad de Sevilla (y) Violante Muñiz su Muger*.

² If the biographers of Columbus have their difficulties in placing Philippa in her proper family, the biographers of Philippa or of the Perestrello family have had their difficulties in identifying a connection with the Discoverer, since we find Fructuoso mentioning the prevailing opinion that the members of the Furtada de Mendoça family were "relatives of the wife of D. Pedro Colon who discovered the Indies of Castile."—*Muhler de D. Pedro Colon que Descobrio las Indias de Castella*.

³ Fructuoso gives the names of the daughters of Bartholomeu Perestrello by his wife Beatriz Furtada de Mendoça, and one would think he would have mentioned any daughters from his subsequent marriage, had there been any.

Bartholomeu Perestrello II. was put into possession of his rights by João II. under an act dated March 15, 1473, on his reaching his majority and upon his return from active service in Africa.¹ This would give us the date of about 1448 as the year of his birth, and he could not well have been in 1478 or 1479 the grandfather of Diego Columbus, the son of Christopher and Philippa Moñiz.

To find the possible family of the wife of Columbus we must take in our hands the thread entitled Moñiz and follow it backward. That was the family name and it will lead us into a genuine Moñiz family. In the latter part of the fourteenth century, about 1384, the famous Constable of Portugal, Nuño Alvarez Pereira had a Secretary who was called Gil Ayres Moñiz, a native of Alegrete. Among the works of the Constable Pereira was the founding in Lisbon of a monastery of Carmelites. He donated one of the chapels in this monastery, situated the first on the epistle side of the altar and dedicated to our Lady of Piety, "to Gil Ayres Moñiz and to his descendants for ever." When Diego Columbus, the son of the Admiral, made his final will in 1523 he provided that there should be transferred to the Church of Santa Clara in San Domingo *el cuerpo de Doña Felipa Muñiz, muger del primer Almirante, que esta en Lisboa en el monasterio del Carmen en una capilla de su linaje de los Muñizes, que se nombra de la Piedad*: "the body of Doña Philippa Moñiz, wife of the first Admiral, which is in Lisbon in the monastery of the Carmelites in a chapel of her lineage, of the Moñiz family, which is called *de la Piedad*."

Thus the wife of the first Admiral was a descendant of the Moñiz family which had a chapel known as the Chapel of Piety in the monastery of Carmelites at Lisbon presented to his Secretary, Gil Ayres Moñiz, by the Great Constable of Portugal, Nuno Alvarez Pereira. She herself could not well have been a daughter of Gil Ayres Moñiz. The fact that he was acting as Secretary to the Constable as early as 1384 would require him to be

¹ In the document in favour of Pedro Correa, in May, 1458, the youthful Bartholomeu II. is said to have been only seven or eight years of age. If we allow him two years after arriving at his majority of twenty-five years, in which he remained in Africa in military employment, it would make these two dates agree.

² This church was not then constructed, but was built a little later. To-day it is restored, and travellers report it as one of the handsomest and most attractive in the city of San Domingo.

a nonogenarian when Philippa was born. Gil Ayres Moñiz had a daughter, Isabel, and three sons from his marriage with Leonora Moñiz de l'Algarve, a sister of Vasco Martins Moñiz and of Garcia Moñiz. These sons were named Diogo Gil, Vasco Gil, and Ruy Gil. The eldest son, Diogo Gil Moñiz, married Leonora de Sousa, daughter of Ruy Gomez de Silva, Señor of Chamusca. Harrisse quotes a document dated May 17, 1458 (included in the Cedula of Confirmation for Pedro Correa da Cunha, as temporary Governor of Porto Santo, dated August 17, 1459) in which one reads:

" Isabel Muñiz, sua madre, e Diogo Gil Moñiz, seu irmao, titores do dito Bertolameu Palestrello . . . et a dicta sua madre e seu tio, titores do dito moço " : " Isabel Moñiz, his mother, and Diogo Gil Moñiz, her brother, guardians of the said Bartholomeu Palestrello . . . and to the said his mother and his uncle, guardians of the said boy."

Antonio de Lima ¹ says this Diogo Gil left a son called Pedro Moñiz. In one place Brandão ² speaks of this Pedro Moñiz as the grandson of Gil Ayres Moñiz. We can find no trace of the marriage of Pedro Moñiz, but if he was the father of Doña Philippa we can understand how Ferdinand Columbus in his *Historie* should call the father of Doña Philippa, Pedro Moñiz Perestrello, intending the reader to understand that there was a direct connection between the Moñiz and Perestrello families. He knew that one or more of the family had been Governor of Porto Santo, and certainly he assigns that honourable office to Philippa's father rather than to Bartholomeu II., the son of Bartholomeu I., and of her great-grandmother, Isabel Moñiz. If Philippa was the daughter of Pedro Moñiz, he must also have been the father of the woman married to the man Muliar living at Huelva, Spain.

The following table will serve to indicate the descent of Doña Philippa Moñiz from Gil Ayres Moñiz, the protégé of the

¹ Antonio de Lima, *Nobiliario*: Title under the head of Moñiz family, manuscript preserved in the Canto Library. This historical writer died about the year 1582, and is of high authority in Portugal.

² Francisco Brandão, or Brandon, *Monarchia Lusytana*, Lisbon, 1672.

The first edition of this work was issued as follows:

Monarchia Lusytana Com a Continuação até 1385. Vols. i., ii., by Bernardo de Brito, vol. i., Alcobaga, 1597, vol. ii., Lisbon, 1609; vols. iii., iv., by Ant. Brandão, Lisbon, 1632; vols. v., vi., by Francisco Brandão, Lisbon, 1650 and 1672; vol. vii., by Raphael de Jesus, Lisbon, 1683; and vol. viii., by Man. dos Santos, Lisbon, 1727.

Christopher Columbus

Constable Pereira. It also connects Doña Philippa with the Perestrello family.

Gil Ayres Moñiz married to Leonora Moñiz				
Diogo Gil Moñiz. married Leonora de Sousa.	Vasco Gil.	Ruy Gil.	Guiomar Gil. married Lope Dias de Lemos.	Isabel. married Bartholomeu Perestrello I.
Pedro Moniz.			Bartholomeu Perestrello II.	
Philippa married Christopher Columbus	Brigulanga or Violante or Briolanje, the aunt of Diego Columbus mentioned in his will and the wife of Miguel Muliar of Huelva.			

Ferdinand Columbus declares that Philippa Moñiz was of noble blood and was a pupil in the convent of All Saints in Lisbon, where Columbus was in the habit of going to mass.

She noticed him, conceived a friendship for him, and became his wife. The author of the *Historie* then goes on to say that the father-in-law, Pedro Moñiz Perestrello, being dead, they went to live with the mother-in-law, presumably at Porto Santo. Here, as the story goes, the mother-in-law gave Columbus the papers and journals of her husband, who had been a great traveller, having discovered with two other captains the islands of Madeira and having been given as his portion the governorship of the island of Porto Santo: and that to these papers and journals, describing various voyages and navigations, is to be ascribed the inspiration of his projects. We nowhere find that this Pedro Moñiz was a navigator. He left no impress on his time. The story that Ferdinand tells of Pedro Moñiz discovering the Madeiras is not in conformity with history. That Columbus, early after his marriage, went to Porto Santo is likely. Fructuoso says:

“Hum homem de nação Italiana Genoes, chamado Christovão Colon, natural de Cogoreo, ou de Nervi a Selça de Genova . . . vindo da sua terra á ilha da Madeira, se cason nella, vivendo ali fazer cartas de marrear.”

“He was a man of the Italian Genoese nation, named Christopher Columbus, a native of Cogoreo [Cogoletto] or of Nervi near Genoa . . . having come from his country to the island of Madeira, he married on that island, living there by making charts for navigation.”

Oviedo ¹ writes:

"Fuesse en Portugal. E allí vivió algun tiempo en la cibdad de Lisbona, desde la qual é de donde quiera que estuvo siempre, como hijo grato, socorria á su padre viejo con parte del fructo de sus sudores; viviendo en una vida assaz limitada è no con tantos bienes de fortuna que pudiesse estar sin assaz neçessidad.

"Aunque ya era Colom casado en aquel reyno, é se habia hecho natural vasallo de aquella tierra por su matrimonio."

"He went away into Portugal. And there he lived for some time in the city of Lisbon, from which, and always from wherever he was, like a grateful son, he aided his old father with a part of the fruit of his labours: living a very narrow life and with not sufficient worldly treasures to be able to be free from some want.

"Columbus was already married in that kingdom, and had made himself a natural subject of that country by his marriage."

Las Casas ² says:

Segun que me quiero acordar que me dijo su hijo Don Diego Colon . . . fuese á vivir Cristóbal Colon á la dicha isla de Puerto Santo, donde engendró al dicho su primogénito heredero, D. Diego."

"According as I remember what Don Diego Columbus told me, Christopher Columbus went to live on the said island of Porto Santo, where was begotten the said Don Diego, his first-born and heir."

The good Bishop is not very explicit and his language suggests uncertainty as to his own remembrance, but he seems to mean that *after* the marriage of Columbus, the latter went to Porto Santo. There is nothing to tell us the date of Diego's birth. He must have been old enough in 1485 or 1486 to endure the hardship of travel alone with his father and without the ministration of his mother or a nurse. If we suppose him to have been nine years old he would have been born in 1476, the year before his father's voyage to the Northern regions. There is extant a holograph letter of the Admiral preserved in the archives of the Duke de Veragua and printed by Navarrete, which plainly affirms that Diego was not the only child of this union.

"Suplico á vuestras mercedes que con zelo de fielísimos cristianos y de quien S. A. tanto fian, que miren todas mis escrituras, y como vine á servir estos Principes de tan lejos, y dejé muger y hijos que jamas ví por ello, y que agora al cabo de mi vida fuí despojado de mi honra y de mi hacienda

¹ *Historia General*, lib. ii., cap. ii., vol. i., p. 13.

² *Historia de las Indias*, lib. i., cap. iv., vol. i., p. 54.

sin causa; y que en ello ni se aguardó justicia ni misericordia. Dije misericordia, y non se entienda de S. A. porque no tienen culpa."

"I pray your Worships as most zealous Christians and as those in whom his Majesty has so great confidence, to consider all my writings and how I came to serve these Princes from so far away, and left wife and *children* whom I never saw on account of it, and that now at the end of my life I was despoiled of my honour and of my fortune without cause: and that in the matter neither justice nor mercy took part. I said mercy, but it must not be understood in reference to his Highness, because he is not guilty."¹

That Philippa Moñiz Columbus lived still in 1485 or 1486 is evident from the passage quoted above, as well as the further fact that there were two children or more born to her union with Christopher Columbus. From the care expressed by both the Admiral and his son Diego in providing for their relatives in their wills, we must conclude that whatever the number of his children living when Columbus departed out of Portugal and even when he made his great discovery and entered into his honours and contemplated fortunes, at the time of his death two sons, Diego and Ferdinand, alone survived him. In the document dated at Burgos, April 23, 1497, authorising the creation of the Majorat, it speaks distinctly, after naming Diego for the entail, of *otros vuestros hijos, your other sons*. So that at this time, April, 1497, the sovereign knew of two or more sons besides Diego. The affectionate terms in which the Admiral confides Ferdinand to the care of the elder brother suggest that he likewise would have consigned to his protection the brothers in Portugal had there been any such living at the time he wrote. The justice with which he provides for the continuance of his fortune and honours in his family even to the most distant and unlikely heirs, leads us to believe that after Diego he would have left his estates and titles and privileges to his next oldest son by Doña Philippa had such a son then been living and eligible to their assumption. If it be said this other son or these other sons lived in Portugal, it is inconceivable

¹ This document Navarrete himself saw in the possession of the Duke of Veragua, and regarded it as a sort of minute or draft of a letter which Columbus had written, or was preparing to write, to some important personages in the Court who were interested in his cause when misfortunes came upon him. The sentiments are the same as those expressed in his famous letter written to the nurse of the Prince, but this particular document seems intended for two or more persons high in the royal favour. See Navarrete, vol. ii., p. 255.

that he or they would have failed to change allegiance from the flag of Portugal to that of Spain. When the broken-hearted Admiral writes his weird letter from the island of Jamaica on July 7 in the year 1503, he speaks only of two sons, Diego, then in Spain, and Ferdinand, the son of Beatriz Enriquez, then with him on that island, a brave companion in his dangers, although not fifteen years of age. In the letter written his son Diego and dated Friday, December 13, 1504, Columbus says: "Treat your brother—Ferdinand—as an elder brother should treat the younger. *You have no other brother.*" We must believe that if he left sons behind him when he departed from Portugal, he left but Diego and Ferdinand behind him when he departed his life in Valladolid.

We may confidently assert that Columbus did not depart for Spain before the end of 1485. On the guard-leaf of the famous *Historia Rerum Ubique Gestarum*, the precious volume containing so many annotations in the proper hand of Christopher Columbus, we find this memorandum:

"Rex Portugalie misit in Guinea anno domini 1485. magister Jhosepius fixicus ejus & astrologus (ad com)piendum altitudinem solis in totta guinea *qui omnia* adinplevit et renunciavit dito *serenissimo regi* me presente quod . . . aliis in die. XI Marcii invenit se distare ab equinoxiali gradus V. *minute* in insula vocata de los ydolos que est prope s(ierr)a Lioa."¹

"The King of Portugal sent in the year 1485 Master Joseph, his physician and astrologer, to take the altitude of the sun over Guinea, who accomplished all this and reported to the said most worthy King when I myself was present that . . . with others on March 11 he accurately found himself distant five degrees from the equinoctial line, in an island called *Los Ydolos* near the Sierra Leone."²

¹ The italics indicate the letters omitted in the original.

² This is probably the expedition sent out by Juan II. under Master Rodrigo and Master Joseph Judio (see Barros, *Asia*, Dec. I., Book IV.) to develop the science of navigation by means of observations of the sun's altitude. It is said that the Nuremberg scientist and traveller, Martin Behaim, who was knighted by the Portuguese King to be Chevalier of the Order of Christ, was a member of this same expedition. But Barros makes Martin Behaim return from this expedition in May or June, 1486. In the legend on Martin Behaim's globe we read that King John of Portugal fitted out the expedition in the year 1484, and that it lasted nineteen months. If this was the same expedition, it follows that the report to the King when Columbus was present was in 1486, and thus the time at which the latter is found in Portugal might be extended to that year. But the description of this voyage does not correspond with the scientific character given to the one on which Doctor Joseph sailed, and we incline to regard them as two distinct voyages. Doctor Joseph is so associated with Behaim in his construction

We shall show in the part of this Work relating to his handwriting that this note is in the hand of Columbus himself. It is the latest date given us whereby we may speculate on the time of his departure from Portugal.

of the astrolabe and the globe that unity seems to suggest their companionship when there is no historical proof to sustain it. If so famous a man as Martin Behaim had been on the expedition, Columbus would doubtless have referred to it as sent out under him as well as under Doctor Joseph. We imagine that the island or islands referred to may be identified with the group of three called to-day *Islas de Los*, and belonging to Great Britain. They are Factory Island, Tamara, and Ruma. But the most southerly of these islands is in latitude 9° , or a little more, north of the equator. They were discovered in an expedition, the first, we believe, after the death of Prince Henry, and therefore made about 1461 or 1462, under a gentleman of the household of the King of Portugal, Pedro de Cintra, who reported finding near a mountain range, called by them Sierra Leona, three small islands situated some eight miles from the coast. These islands they called the Selvagens.

CHAPTER XXXXIX

COLUMBUS IN SPAIN

WHEN an inventor produces some labour-saving device or presents an improvement in the parts of a machine, there generally lies before him the arduous task of interesting others in his proposals. It frequently occurs that the hand which fashions an advanced form of a machine has not the cunning or strength to draw the world near to see its operation. Columbus went into Spain with a well-projected scheme for discovery. But it was a conception, not a construction; a proposal, not a performance. It was a wilder plan than any yet proposed to pilot or to King. The wonder is he ever secured the assistance of the Spanish Sovereigns. Why did he not equip a small vessel at his own expense or why did he not interest one or two adventurous spirits like himself and push the hazard of fortune? Neither of these would have been too difficult. The reason is that he was something besides an adventurer. He looked forward not merely to the discovery but to its practical utilisation. He knew that no one discoverer, no one vessel, no fleet of ships could hold title to things discovered unaided by the arm of a strong nation.² Land could not be possessed, peoples could not be subdued to another nation and converted to God without the protection of some powerful king. Therefore we find Christopher Columbus arrived in Spain, following the Court and slowly advancing his plans. It is probable that on

¹ In the letter written by Columbus to the nurse of the late Prince Juan, dated in the year 1500, he says:

"Bien que yo sepa poco, no sé quien me tenga por tan turpe que yo no conozca que aunque las Yndias fuesen mías que yo non me pudiera sustener syn ayuda de Príncipe": "although I may know but little, I do not think any one considers me so foolish as not to know that even if the Indies were mine, I would not be able to sustain them without the aid of some Prince."

first coming into Spain Columbus carried his little son Diego to his sister-in-law's house in Huelva and that the scene enacted at the convent door of La Rabida belongs to a much later act in the drama, as we shall shortly see.

In a letter ¹ written probably in 1500, from which we have already quoted and in which Columbus asserts that seventeen years had passed since he had come into Spain to serve their Majesties in regard to the Indies, eight years of which had been passed in ridiculing his projects, he says:

"Yo con amor proseguí en ello, y respondí á Francia y á Inglaterra y á Portugal, que para el Rey y la Reina, mis Señores, eran esas tierras y Señorios."

"With zeal I prosecuted [these projects] and replied to France, to England and to Portugal that these lands and dominions were reserved for the King and Queen, my Sovereigns."

Both Las Casas and Ferdinand make him say:

"Por servir á Vuestras Altezas yo no quise entender con Francia ni Inglaterra ni Portugal, de los cuales Principes vieron Vuestras Altezas las cartas, por mano del doctor Villalóno."²

"That I might serve your Highnesses, I listened neither to France nor England nor Portugal, the letters of whose sovereigns your Highnesses saw by the hand of the Doctor Villalón."

Therefore, such correspondence as might have taken place between Columbus and foreign Courts must have been after 1485 or subsequent to his arrival in Spain. Instead of beholding Columbus a suppliant before Anne of Beaujeu or Henry VII., or John II., we are asked to look upon him as repulsing the kindly offers of the great and the aid of the powerful. Ramusio would have us believe that Genoa, the country of his birth, was the first to receive his proposals for a western voyage and a

¹ Navarrete, vol. ii., p. 254.

² "Alonso de Villalón of the Royal Council. He was specially charged in the summer of 1493 with the forming of that armada from Biscay which was to proceed with Columbus to the Indies, and which served instead for the deportation of Muley Boabdil to Africa. He must have enjoyed high authority among the Court Councillors, since in a Memorial which Hernando de Talavera (one of the first protectors of Columbus) drew up for the Queen in regard to the manner in which the affairs should be despatched, it is recommended to "order him,"—that is to say the Comendador Mayor, "and the Doctor de Villalón to meet Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday at 3 o'clock to despatch petitions." This curious document is without date, but must be previous to 1498, since it appears that Alvarez died during that year.

circumnavigation of the globe. Carlo Antonio Marin reports that the Chevalier Francesco Pesaro, one of the Council of Ten, in examining the archives of his Government found a letter addressed by Columbus to the Venetian Republic proposing his plans for discovery. In no instance is there preserved any document or letter proving these attempts to obtain countenance outside of Spain. If they occurred at all, except as concerns Portugal, they were begun only after Columbus came into Spain. There may have been suggestions of aid from others made to Columbus more to embarrass Spain than to help an unknown dreamer, but the probability is that the language of Columbus in reminding his sovereigns of his service is that of exaggeration.

We reproduce here a remarkable letter written by Luis de la Cerda, Duke of Medinaceli to the Grand Cardinal of Spain, and which serves to light up part of the pathway trodden by Columbus in his struggle to reach the Court and the ears of the Sovereigns.

“Al Reverendísimo Señor el Señor Cardenal de España, Arzobispo de Toledo, &c.

“Reverendísimo Señor: No sé si sabe vuestra Señoría como yo tove en mi casa mucho tiempo á Cristóbal Colomo, que se venia de Portugal, y se queria ir al Rey de Francia para que emprendiese de ir á buscar las Indias con su favor y ayuda, é yo lo quisiera probar y enviar desde el Puerto que tenia buen aparejo con tres ó quatro carabelas, que no me demandaba mas; pero como ví que era ésta empresa para la Reina nuestra Señora, escrebilo á su Alteza desde Rota, y respondiome que gelo enviase: yo gelo envié entonces, y supliqué á su Alteza, pues yo no lo quise tentar y lo aderezaba para su servicio, que me mandase hacer merced y parte en ello, y que el cargo y descargo deste negocio fuese en el Puerto. Su Alteza lo recibió y lo dió en cargo á Alonso Quintanilla, el cual me escribió de su parte que no tenia este negocio por muy cierto; pero que si se acertase, que su Alteza me haria merced y daria parte en ello; y despues de haberle bien examinado, acordo de enviarle á buscar las Indias. Puede haber ocho meses que partió, y agora él es venido de vuelta á Lisbona, y ha hallado todo lo que buscaba, y muy cumplidamente, lo cual luego yo supe, y por facer saber tan buena nueva á su Alteza ge lo escribo con Xuares, y le envio á suplicar me haga merced que yo pueda enviar en cada año allá algunas carabelas mias. Suplico á vuestra Señoría me quiera ayudar en ello, é ge lo supliqué de mi parte, pues á mi cabsa y por yo detenerle en mi casa dos años, y haberle enderezado á su servicio, se ha hallado tan grande cosa como esta. Y porque de todo informará mas largo Xuares

Christopher Columbus

á vuestra Señoría suplicole le crea. Guarde neustro Señor vuestra Reverendisima persona como vuestra Señoría desea. De la mi villa de Cogolludo á diez y nueve de Marzo. Las manos de vuestra Señoría besamos.

EL DUQUE."

"To the Most Reverend Señor the Lord Cardinal of Spain, Archbishop of Toledo, &c.

"Most Reverend Lord: I do not know if your Lordship is aware that for a long time I had in my house Cristobal Colomo, who came from Portugal and desired to go to the King of France in order that by his favour and aid he might undertake to go and search for the Indies: and I would have liked to try it and to send an expedition from the Port [Santa Maria], as I was well prepared with three or four caravels, which was all he asked of me. But as I saw that this undertaking was worthy of the Queen, our Lady, I wrote to her Highness about it from Rota and she replied telling me to send him [Columbus] to her. I then sent him to the Queen and I entreated her Highness, since I would not attempt it and prepare the expedition for her service, to order that I should be favoured and receive a part in the affair, and that the loading and unloading of the fleet should take place in the Port [Santa Maria]. Her Majesty received him [Columbus] and gave him in charge to Alonso de Quintanilla, who wrote me on her behalf, that she did not consider this undertaking very certain: but that if it should be accepted, her Highness would show me favour and would give me a share in it. And after having examined him [Columbus] well, she decided to send him in search of the Indies. It may be eight months since he started, and now on his return he has come to Lisbon and has found all that he sought for and very fully. As soon as I learned of this and to make known such good news to her Highness, I wrote her about it by Xuares and I sent him to beg that she would show me favour and allow me to send some of my caravels there [to the Indies] each year. I beg your Lordship to kindly aid me in the matter and I entreat it of you on my part, since it was through me and by my detaining him in my house for two years and directing him to the service of her Highness, that he has accomplished so great a thing. And as Xuares will inform your Lordship more at length in regard to everything, I beg you to believe him. May our Lord guard your most Reverend person as your Lordship desires. From my village of Cogolludo March 19. We kiss the hands of your Lordship.

THE DUKE."

The Admiral on the *Niño* came out of the mouth of the Tagus on March 13, 1493, and at noon on the 15th he crossed the bar of Saltes and anchored in the deeper channel by the town of Palos, whence he had set out a little more than seven months before. The news of his arrival spread with rapidity and was not long in reaching the Duke of Medinaceli, whose interests lay near Cadiz. His residence at that time appears

to have been at Rota, six miles to the northward of Cadiz and near the port of Santa Maria where he had his ships and caravels. He had already on or before the 19th of March hastened a messenger to the Queen, then at Barcelona, and if this letter is reliable he may have despatched a swift vessel to the Court and thus have been the first to announce the news of the discovery. However this may be, the letter of the Duke asserts that Columbus was restrained by him, by his retaining him in his house, from seeking the aid of the French Court. Further, he declares that he sought to interest the Queen in his behalf and that this was through Alonso de Quintanilla. Oviedo¹ says of Columbus when he first came into Spain:

"Andaba en la corte, llegábase á casa de Alonso de Quintanilla, contador mayor de cuentas de los Reyes Cathólicos [el cual era notable varon y desseoso del acrecentamiento y servicio de sus reyes] y mandabáale dar de comer lo nesçessario por una compasibilidad de su pobreza. Y en este caballero halló mas parte é acogimiento Colom que en hombre de toda España."

"He was going to the Court and arrived at the house of Alonso de Quintanilla, First Treasurer of the Catholic² sovereigns [who was a notable man and eager for the aggrandisement and service of his sovereigns] and through compassion for his poverty he ordered that what he needed to eat should be given him. And Columbus was better received by this gentleman and found him more interested than any man in all Spain."

On May 5, 1487, Columbus received 3000 maravedis on account of some services and by the warrant of Alonso de Quintanilla, the Treasurer above mentioned. These two facts taken together lead us to assume that the period of residence of Columbus in the house of the Duke of Medinaceli was from the summer of the year 1486—Columbus left Portugal at the end of 1485—until early in the year 1487, when he had entered into certain relations with their Majesties. If Oviedo is correct Columbus had interested Alonso de Quintanilla in his condition, if not in his projects, directly on his arriving at the Court, and if the appearance of Columbus at the Court is immediately

¹ *Historia General*, lib. ii., cap. v.

² Of course at that time Ferdinand and Isabella were not known by the title of *Los Reyes Católicos*. This title was conferred on them by Pope Alexander VI. sometime in the year 1494, as Peter Martyr refers to it as an honour already conferred, in a letter written to the newly appointed Archbishop of Granada, dated February 5, 1495, where he says, speaking of the King and Queen, *Cathólicos Appellabimus*.

prior to his receipt of the 3000 maravedis the intervening time might well have been that passed in the house of the Duke.

Another powerful friend of Columbus was the King's Chamberlain, Juan Cabrero. Las Casas recites his virtues and his goodness to Columbus. In a memoir by his nephew, Martin Cabrero, dated March 21, 1517, he says of his uncle:

"Que fué causa principal de que se emprendiese la empresa de las Indias y se conquistasen, y si por él no fuera, no hubiera Indias, á los menos para provecho de Castilla."

"That he was the principal cause of the undertaking of the affair of the Indies and of their acquisition, and if it were not for him, the Indies would not have been discovered, at least for the benefit of Castile."

He was a devoted and appreciated friend to the King and Queen and when, in 1513, Ferdinand the King ordered that the Indian slaves brought out from the island of Santo Domingo should be returned, this Juan Cabrero was one of the five persons excepted from the royal mandates.¹

In a letter written by the Admiral to his son Diego December 21 (1504), he says:

"Es de trabajar de saber si la Reina, que Dios tiene, dejó dicho algo en su testamento, de mí, y es de dar prisa al Sr. Obispo de Palencia, el que fue causa que sus Altezas hobiesen las Indias, y que yo, quedase en Castilla, que ya estaba yo de camino para fuera y así al Señor Camarero de su Alteza."

"We must strive to learn whether the Queen, whom God has in His keeping, said anything about me in her will and we must hurry the Lord Bishop of Palencia, who caused the possession of the Indies by their Highnesses and my remaining in Castile, for I was already on my way to leave it. And the Lord Chamberlain of his Highness must also be hurried."

¹ Navarrete (vol. iii., p. 315) in an article entitled *Noticias exactas de Amerigo Vesputio y Reflexiones Criticas* quotes this sentiment of Martin Cabrero as to the importance of his uncle's services.

The five individuals exempted from the order confining the holding of Indian slaves to persons residing on the island of Española are:

The Bishop of Palencia (Juan Rodriguez de Fonseca).

The Comendador Major of Castilla (The Grand Master of the Order of St. Jacques, Alonzo de Cardenas).

The Chamberlain, Mosen Juan Cabrero.

Miguel Perez de Almazar, Secretary.

Lope Conchillos, Secretary.

The reader will understand that the Bishop of Palencia mentioned in the text and who befriended Columbus is not Fonseca. The latter came into that office afterward.

The Bishop of Palencia was Diego de Deza, who had long been the good friend of Columbus. Las Casas says also he had heard it boasted that Fra. Diego de Deza and Cabrero were the two individuals who caused Ferdinand and Isabella to undertake the expedition of discovery. This learned priest, Diego de Deza, had been Professor of Theology in the University of Salamanca tutor to the young Prince Juan, confessor to the Queen, Bishop successively of Salamanca, Jaen, and Palencia, and afterwards had been made Archbishop of Seville. No one had greater influence with the King and Queen.

Las Casas quotes from a letter of the Admiral, the original of which is no longer in existence, to show that there was another brave spirit unknown to history save as this statement introduces him. This man's name was Antonio de Marchena, wrongly identified by Navarrete and others with that pious and persistent priest, Juan Perez of La Rabida.

"Y nos parecia que seria bueno para esto Fray Antonio de Marchena, porque es buen astrólogo, y siempre nos pareció que se conformaba con vuestro parecer."

"And it seemed to us that Brother Antonio de Marchena would be fitted for this matter, because he is a good astrologer, and it always appeared to us that he agreed with your opinion."

In the letter describing the third voyage the Admiral again alludes to the ridicule placed upon his project by all except two friars, *salvo dos frailes que siempre constantes*, the grandest praise which can be paid to companion, friend, or lover. One of these constant souls, then, was Antonio de Marchena and the other was Diego de Deza, the Bishop of Palencia.

Here are four men, among the first in the kingdom, friends and protectors of Columbus, the one occupying the very first rank among the Spanish grandees, two others filling the most important official positions in Spain, and the fourth a high ecclesiastic with the right of entrance to the inner chambers of the sovereigns. Somehow it presents the Genoese solicitor in somewhat better circumstances than pictures usually represent him, as he awaits in Spain the hour of his fate. The poet and the dramatist demand a setting of extreme poverty and utter friendlessness out of which Columbus must emerge to fortune and to fame. The facts do not justify this lowly condition.

A Mæcenas may be wearied through much importunity, but the project of Columbus was so grand, his design so attractive, the prospect so inviting and full of hope, that we cannot imagine any one to whom his plans had once been imparted wavering in sympathy or abating in interest. The man and his project would hold the meanest patron.

CHAPTER L

THE JUNTA

A CLEVER picture is sometimes the most powerful of arguments. It will often outweigh reasoning and destroy sophistry. Many a syllogism has fallen before a cartoon. There are several pictures, painted to the same theme, in which Columbus is seen standing before an official gathering of learned men, for the most part priests, in one of the convents, revealing his plans to hostile ears, himself the object of scorn and jest and pity. This scene is always laid in Salamanca.

Historians have been agreed that the Spanish Sovereigns referred the project of Columbus to certain learned and prominent persons for their consideration and advice. Las Casas simply says that their opinion was asked of the Grand Cardinal, Pero Gonzales de Mendoza, Diego de Deza, Alonso de Cardenas, the Prior of Prado, and Juan Cabrero. He does not say where any such council was held. Oviedo mentions no place where a council was convened, but does report a consultation on the part of certain persons in the Court, and a division of opinion. Ferdinand Columbus, as we have seen in the essay on "Peter Martyr,"¹ reports that the matter was referred to the "Prior of Prado, afterwards Archbishop of Granada," who was commanded, together with those learned in cosmography, to inform themselves fully, *a pieno*, on the subject. Ferdinand then makes the astonishing assertion that his father did not wish to have his project wholly understood lest he might be treated as he was in Portugal, referring to the Portuguese King's surreptitious attempt to realise on the plan for discovery presented him by Columbus. Navarrete in his invaluable work² prints the

¹ Verso, p. 32, *Historie*, Venice, 1571.

² *Viages*, vol. iii., p. 589.

Probanzas del Almirante, and in the fifteenth question we find a reference to this inquiry:

"El Dr. Rodrigo Maldonado, dice: 'que lo que desta pregunta sabe, es que esta testigo con el prior de Prado, que á la sazón era, que despues fué arzobispo de Granada, é con otros sábios é letrados y marineros, platicaron con el dicho Almirante sobre su ida á las dichas islas, é que todos ellos acordaron que era imposible ser verdad lo que el dicho Almirante decia, é contra el parecer de los mas dellos porfió el dicho Almirante de ir el dicho viage, é SS. AA. le mandaron libra cierta cantidad de maravedis para ello, é asentaron ciertas capitulaciones con él: lo cual todo supo este testigo como uno de los del Consejo de SS. AA., é que así partió el dicho Almirante á descubrir las dichas islas; y plugá á nuestro Señor que acertó en lo que decia; é que este deponente tiene por cierto que si el dicho Almirante no porfiara de ir el dicho viage, é si no descubriera las dichas islas, que estovieran fasta hoy por hallar.'"

"Dr. Rodrigo Maldonado says: 'That what he knows in regard to this question, is that this witness, together with him who was at the time Prior of Prado and afterwards Archbishop of Granada, and with other learned men, and men of letters and mariners, conversed with the said Admiral about his going to the said islands, and that all of them agreed that it was impossible that what the said Admiral stated could be true: and against the opinion of most of them the said Admiral persisted in going on the said voyage, and their Highnesses ordered that a certain quantity of maravedis should be appropriated for it, and they arranged certain capitulations with him: all of which this witness knew, being a member of the Council of their Highnesses and that in this manner the said Admiral set out to discover the said islands: and it pleased our Lord that he succeeded in what he proposed: and this deponent considers it certain that if the said Admiral had not persisted on going on the said voyage and if he had not discovered the said islands, they would remain undiscovered until the present day.'"

It is necessary, then, to add to this Council the name of Rodriguez de Maldonado, who himself says he made one of the number.

The Prior of the monastery of our Lady of Prado, near Valladolid, was Hernando de Talavera, of the Jeronimite order, one of the Father Confessors to Queen Isabella¹ and afterwards Bishop of Avila and Archbishop of Granada. No one of these writers mentions the place or date for the holding of this Council. Antonio de Remesal, of the Dominican order, published at Madrid in 1619 his *Historia de la Provincia de S. Vincente de Chyapa*. In this work Salamanca for the first time is men-

¹ Mariana, in his *History of Spain*, says the Prior of Prado was the Confessor of the King. The same authority declares that the King chose him to go to Portugal and ratify the Treaty of Peace with that country in 1483.

tioned as the place where the Council or consultation was held, and the particular chamber is stated to be the Hall of the Convent of St. Stephen, the home of the Dominican order. The imagination of some historians has peopled this chamber with University Professors and theological teachers who disputed every argument of Columbus with narrow and impossible references to the fathers of the Church and the writers on cosmography: and then when the decision was adverse to the project the great University of Salamanca is held up to ridicule as the seat of bigotry and ignorance. The date can be approximately fixed when this gathering was held. It undoubtedly took place on the arrival of Columbus at the Court. If he spent two years, or portions of two years, in the house of the Duke of Medinaceli before gaining access to the Sovereigns, it would bring him to the Court some time in the year 1487 or early in 1488.¹ At this precise date the Court was not at Salamanca. But Columbus undoubtedly obtained one or more audiences with the Sovereigns before this date. The chronicle of Valladolid gives the date of January 26 (or 20), 1487, for the departure of the Court from Salamanca for Andalusia. The Court was at Cordova in April, 1487, at a camp near Malaga in May, and at Saragossa in November of the same year. Both Ferdinand Columbus and Dr. Rodriguez de Maldonado² speak of Talavera as the *Prior of Prado*, and Maldonado speaks of him distinctly as the one "who was at that time Prior of Prado." Now the Prior of Prado became Bishop of Avila sometime in the year 1487 and presumably prior to August 18, the day on which the Sovereigns entered Malaga, as he is known to have consecrated the Moorish mosque of that city and celebrated mass at its altar, by virtue of his ecclesiastical authority, as Bishop.³ If the members of the

¹ This date is not inconsistent with the assertion of Columbus in his *Journal* under January 14, 1493, when he said seven years would be completed on January 20th of that year since he came to serve them.

² This Rodriguez de Maldonado was a member of the Talavera family and was sometimes called Doctor Talavera. Navarrete, vol. iii., p. 614, Observacion viii., says he was a *Vecino y Regidor de la Ciudad de Salamanca*, a Citizen and Alderman of the City of Salamanca.

³ Mariana says that the King left Cordova April 7, 1487, and that the Spanish forces encamped in front of Malaga to besiege it on May 15, 1487, and when Queen Isabella came to the camp, she was accompanied by the Bishop of Avila. As the Prior of Prado was her Confessor, it is probable he departed from Salamanca on January 26, 1487, when the Court moved to Cordova.

In the time of the Goths Malaga had been the seat of a bishopric and the Pope restored it to this dignity.

Christopher Columbus

Council enumerated by Las Casas be correct, then only Diego de Deza occupied any relation to the University of Salamanca. He held the Chair of Theology, as Navarrete says in summing up the testimony in favour of Columbus. The Prior of Prado was a resident of Valladolid and belonged to the Order of St. Jerome, while Diego de Deza and the strong convent of St. Stephen were of the Order of Dominicans. The scientific faculty of the University nowhere appears to have been called upon for consultation or advice. No Professor of mathematics or astrology is mentioned as having been present. It was a function entirely in the hands of the Prior of Prado, who does not appear to have been attached by official, ecclesiastical, or friendly ties to the University. The result of this consultation we may learn from the testimony of Dr. Rodriguez de Maldonado; it was against the enterprise. If Columbus failed to give the Council or Junta the minutest detail, if he withheld some few links in the chain of reasoning, if he omitted a direction in sailing or the history of some event helpful to a conclusion, he could only blame his want of candour if the Council decided against him. While we therefore believe the Junta was held at Salamanca in the convent of St. Stephen at the end of 1486 or the beginning of 1487, and while it was a consultation which developed strong opposition to the feasibility of his plans, there is absolutely no reflection to be cast on the intelligence or learning of the University of Salamanca.

CHAPTER LI

BEATRIZ ENRIQUEZ

WHEN we follow the star of Columbus into the Seventh House appointed by the astrologists, we discover that some obstructing planet was Lord thereof. There was an astral perturbation which drew this strong man out of his natural orbit. Christopher Columbus was the father of Ferdinand Columbus; Beatriz Enriquez was the mother of Ferdinand. There is no documentary proof that these two persons were ever lawfully wedded. The reader will remember that in 1585, when the Majorat of 1498 was in question before the Council of the Indies, a leaf was missing, and for a time it was said that this mysterious folio would reveal the secret of the Admiral's relations with Beatriz. But when one of the claimants for the estates and honours, Baldassare Colombo, produced a legalised copy of the lost leaf, it was found to have no relation whatsoever to the mother of Ferdinand. On the other hand, the reference to her on the part of the Admiral can lead but to one conclusion. On the day preceding his death, May 19, 1506, in the city of Valladolid, Christopher Columbus executed his last will and testament. It was the last solemn act of his life. One of his injunctions made on the previous twenty-fifth of August and here confirmed, was as follows:

"Digo y mando á D. Diego, mi hijo, ó á quien heredare, que pague todas las deudas que dejo aquí en un memorial, por la forma que allí dice, é mas las otras que justamente parecerá que yo deba. E le mando que haya encomendada á Beatriz Enriquez, madre de D. Fernando, mi hijo, que la provea que pueda vivir honestamente, como persona á quien yo soy en tanto cargo. Y esto se haga por mi descargo de la conciencia, porque esto pesa mucha para mi ánima. La razon dello non es licito de la escribir aquí."

Christopher Columbus

"I say to and direct D. Diego, my son, or to whomever shall inherit, to pay all the debts which I leave here in a memorandum in the form expressed therein, and furthermore the other debts which it shall justly appear that I owe. And I direct him to make provision for Beatriz Enriquez, mother of D. Fernando, my son, that she may be able to live honestly, being a person to whom I am under very great obligation. And this shall be done for the satisfaction of my conscience, because this matter weighs heavily upon my soul. The reason for which, it is not fitting to write here."

This is the language of affection, repentance, and mystery. It is not conceivable that a man realising the approach of his last days and remembering the past would allude in such a document to his wife as *persona á quien yo soy en tanto cargo*. If he had neglected her, his very repentance would have led him to pay at least a tribute of respect in dignifying her as his wife had she been legally entitled to that name. When his son Diego made his Will at Las Cuevas, March 16, 1509, he provided partially at least for the care of Beatriz Enriquez, but without assigning any title of honour or respect and placing her in the order of his benevolence or duty after his aunt and two of his mistresses¹:

¹ "Manda veinticuatro: Item mando que serán dados en limosna á Constanza Rosa, vecina de Burgos en la calle Tenebregosa, veinte mil maravedis; y si ella fuese fallecida, que con ellos sea casada una huerfana pobre, ó dado en redencion para cautivos; y por cuanto se ha dicho, que esta dicha Constanza parió un hijo ó hija de mi, mando que si se hallare ser verdad, que mi heredero reciba la tal criatura, y la mande criar y proveer en todo y por todo como conviene á mi honra y estado; y por saber la verdad de esto, doy por aviso á mis albaceas y á mi heredero, que considerando el tiempo que yo hube esta mujer, y el tiempo quando la dejé, que esta tal criatura pudo nacer por el mes de junio ó julio de mil y quinientos y ocho años, como podran haber informacion de Garcia de Lama, vecino de Burgos á Santa Maria la Mayor.

"Manda veinticinco: Item mando que á Da. Isabel Samba, mujer que fué de Petisalazan, vecina de Bilbao ó de Garnica, que (por) espacio de dos años le sean [sean] dados por mis albaceas ó heredero doscientos ducados para sus necesidades; ca si fuere fallecida, quédense para cumplir las mandas de este testamento. E por cuanto ella parió un hijo, mando que fenecido el pleito que injustamente y contra verdad me movió, este tal hijo sea por mi heredero recibido y criado; é tratándose de mi honra y estado conviene; el cual hijo segun parece parió por el mes de octubre de quinientos y ocho años, y quanto á lo de los dichos ducados docientos, no les serán dados cosa alguna, perdiendo el dicho pleito."

² Legacy 24. Item: I direct that 20,000 maravedis shall be given as charity to Constanza Rosa, a resident of Burgos in the street of Tenebregosa: and if she is dead, that this amount shall be used for the marriage of a poor orphan, or shall be given for the redemption of captives. And inasmuch as it has been said that this said Constanza gave birth to a son or a daughter belonging to me, I direct, if this shall be found to be the truth, that my heir shall receive such infant and shall order that it be brought up and provided for, in everything and with everything, in a manner suitable to my honour and rank. And in order to learn the truth of this matter, I

"Manda Veinte y siete: Item mando que á Beatriz Enriquez serán dados diez mil maravedis en cada un año, allende de los diez mil que le mandó dar el Almirante mi padre."

"Legacy 27: I also direct that 10,000 maravedis shall be given to Beatriz Enriquez each year, besides the 10,000 which the Admiral, my father, ordered given to her."

In a second Will made by Diego Columbus at San Domingo, May 2, 1523, he twice distinguishes his own mother in such a way as to certainly imply a reflection on the mother of Ferdinand. Speaking of himself, Diego says:

"Hijo legitimo de Don Cristobal Colon primero Visorrey é Almirante é Gobernador perpetuo destas dichas Yndias é tierra firma é de Doña Felipa Muñiz su legitima muger defuntos, que Dios aya."

"Legitimate son of Don Christopher Columbus, first Vice-King and Admiral and perpetual Governor of these said Indies and mainland, and of Doña Philippa Moñiz, his legitimate wife, defunct, whom may God have in His keeping."

And again, when speaking of the proposed removal of the body of his own mother to the monastery of Las Cuevas in Seville, he says:

"É traer asy mismo allí el cuerpo de Doña Felipa Muñiz, su legitima muger, mi madre."

"And to carry there likewise, the body of Doña Philippa Moñiz, his legitimate wife, my mother."

Oviedo speaks of the two sons thus:

Los quales eran Don Diego Colom, hijo legitimo é Mayor del Almirante, é otro su hijo Don Fernando Colom, que hoy vive.

"Who were, Don Diego Columbus, the legitimate and oldest son of the Admiral, and another son, Don Fernando Columbus, who is now living."

advise my executors and my heir, that in consideration of the time at which I had relations with this woman and the time at which I left her, such infant should have been born in the month of June or July, 1508, as they will be able to learn from Garcia de Lama, a citizen of Burgos, in Santa Maria la Mayor.

"Legacy 25. Item: I direct that 200 ducats shall be given by my executors or by my heir, to Doña Isabel Samba, who was the wife of Petisalazan, a resident of Bilboa or of Garnica, during the space of two years, for her necessities: and if she is dead they shall be used for the satisfaction of the legacies of this testament. And inasmuch as she gave birth to a son, I direct that when the suit which was brought against me unjustly and in defiance of the truth, is finished, such son shall be received by my heir and brought up and treated in a manner suitable to my honour and rank. Which son, as it appears, was born in the month of October, 1508. And as to the matter of the said 200 ducats, if the said suit is lost, they shall not be given, nor any part of them."

Christopher Columbus

Las Casas distinguishes the condition before the law of the two sons of Columbus where he speaks of *Don Diego Colon, hijo legitimo del Almirante D. Cristobal Colon* and of *D. Hernando, su hijo natural*—Don Diego Columbus, legitimate son of the Admiral—Don Ferdinand, his natural son.

There seems to be a somewhat pathetic acknowledgment of his condition when Ferdinand Columbus in his Will asks to be interred in the monastery of Las Cuevas in case the Chapter should refuse his body sepulture in the Cathedral. And yet this man did more for humanity by his decent life and by his great collection of books for the use of students than all the descendants of the Admiral together.

Beatriz Enriquez was a native of Cordova. This is not discovered in the Will of Diego as has been asserted, for this document, preserved in the archives of the Indies at Seville, does not mention the place of which she was *vecina*, or resident, there being a blank in the original. Las Casas, however, says that Pedro de Arana, a native of Cordova, was the brother of the mother of Ferdinand Columbus.

Not long ago a responsible Spanish review¹ published the results of some researches made by Don Rafael Ramirez de Arellano, nephew of the Marquis de Fuensanta del Valle. Finding in some manuscripts in the Columbian Library at Seville reference to certain notarial documents affecting the Arana family, Señor de Arellano hastened to Cordova to consult the originals. In the archives of that city he found documents which he asserted connected Beatriz Enriquez with the two Arana brothers and which proved that all three were of peasant extraction and acquainted with poverty, living in a small village near Cordova called Santa Maria de Trassiera. The mother of Beatriz was Anne Nunez de Arana and her father was Pedro de Torquemada. In a notarial Act, ceding a small annual payment for life to Ruiz de Buenosrinos and to his son, dated January 9, 1516, this Beatriz describes herself:

¹ *Boletin de la real Academia de la Historia*, December, 1900, pages 461-485. Also the same for January, 1902, pages 41-50. See also *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* for May 15, 1902, where M. Gabriel Marcel discusses this question of the family of Beatriz Enriquez. Perhaps further researches may more clearly identify the mother of Ferdinand with this Beatriz of the little village near Cordova, but certainly in the life, character, and deeds of Ferdinand Columbus there is nothing to indicate a mean or low origin.

I, Beatriz Enriquez de Arana, daughter of the late Pedro de Torquemada,—whom God has in His keeping,—dwelling, etc.

It is evident that this woman was not married at this time, and if she had been the widow of Christopher Columbus, the First Admiral of the Indies, dead nearly ten years, she would have so described herself.

It is probable that when the Court moved from Salamanca to Cordova in January, 1487, Columbus accompanied it to that place, and as the minds of the Sovereigns were filled with thoughts of war to the exclusion of such far-away projects as Columbus had to propose, it is likely that he remained behind when the Court made its way to the South in the springtime of that year. Here in Cordova Christopher Columbus met Beatriz Enriquez and formed with her a relationship which resulted, on the fifteenth day of August, 1488, in the birth of Ferdinand Columbus.¹ When Columbus applied for leave to go back into Portugal in the year 1488 it is possible that it was to settle the estate of his first wife, Philippa Moñiz, and that as a consequence she had departed this life sometime in the first half of that year, but even this suggestion will permit no softening of the actual fact of his relationship with Beatriz Enriquez. A character living in the fifteenth century must be measured by the customs, conditions, and sentiments common to that time. Sons who were illegitimate were recognised by their fathers and honoured by the world.

The King himself, Ferdinand II. of Aragon, had an illegitimate son, Don Alonzo, who was a favourite of his father. When

¹ " . . . Porque por memorias suyas fidedignas paresze que nació en Cordova á quinze días del mes de Agosto, día de la Asuncion de nuestra Señora año de mill é quatrocientos é ochenta é ocho ": " . . . According to his memorials worthy of belief, it appears that he was born in Cordova on the fifteenth day of the month of August, the day of the Ascension of our Lady, in the year one thousand four hundred and eighty-eight."

(Harrisse, Fernand Colomb, p. 220, Paris, 1872.)

The epitaph on the tombstone of Ferdinand Columbus in the church at Seville declares that he died on July 12, 1530, aged 50 years, 9 months, and 14 days. This would make his birth to have occurred on September 28, 1488.

Ortiz de Zuñiga (Anales Ecclesiasticas) says he was born on August 29, 1488, as appears from the original papers, *Que Tiene Nuestra Santa Iglesia*. No such papers, however, are believed to exist.

The date given in the text is that given by the executor of his last will and testament, Marcus Felipe, who was his friend and familiar and who spoke from his personal knowledge of the events in the life of Ferdinand.

Christopher Columbus

Don Juan de Cabrera died leaving an immense fortune to his daughter Donna Anne, the King sought to wed Don Alonzo to that lady that he might become possessed of her estates. A king is morally not much better than his nobles, and they too thought it no terrible sin to bring children into the world without the authority of wedlock. Rodrigo Ponce de Leon, Marquis Duke of Cadiz, the hero of the war of Granada, when he died, August 28, 1492, left three illegitimate daughters, all of whom formed important marriages, the son of one, by authority of the Sovereigns, succeeding to the estates and honours of his grandfather. There was no Spanish rank in those days, spiritual, royal, or civil, in which there were not instances of children being born without the sanction of Church or State. This departure from a high moral standard was the more marked in the case of Columbus because it was not to be expected from a man of his temperance and control. He was not an immoral man. If he had been he would have allowed himself something of licence in his visits to the New World, but his enemies, ever watchful and observant, never discovered the slightest exhibition of laxity in his conduct. We prefer to think that there was some bar to a lawful union between Christopher Columbus and Beatriz Enriquez, but that they nevertheless permitted themselves to yield to a mutual attraction and affection. Such a union, or indeed any domestic union, was not the rôle for a man like Columbus, wedded to a plan, a purpose, which dominated all his thoughts and all his movements.

In his second Will, made May 2, 1523, Diego speaks of his payments due Beatriz of ten thousand maravedis—something over \$61 of our money—per year, and says that, while it was all paid up to a certain point, there may be due her heirs the stipend for three or four years before her death. We may therefore assume that the mother of Ferdinand died about the year 1519.

Beyond these two or three references to her existence no mention is ever made of Beatriz Enriquez, by Christopher Columbus, her lover, or by Ferdinand Columbus, her son.

CHAPTER LII

THE TRIUMPH OF COLUMBUS

THE hour of Columbus was approaching. There was to be one more flow of hope, one more ebb of fortune, and then was to come the wave which would lift him to success. His two sons, Diego and Ferdinand, were at school in Cordova.¹ In the *Journal* of Columbus under date of February 14, 1493, Las Casas finds a passage which he transcribes as follows:

"Dice mas, que tambien le daba gran pena dos hijos que tenia en Córdoba al estudio, que los dejaba huérfanos de padre y madre en tierra estraña."

"He says, moreover, that he also felt great anxiety on account of the two sons whom he had in Cordova at school, as he had left them orphaned of father and mother in a foreign land."

Las Casas always distinguishes between the verbatim utterances of Columbus and his own interpretations of what he himself read in the *Journal*. If these were the literal words of the Admiral it would seem to mean that Philippa, the mother of Diego, and Beatriz, the mother of Ferdinand, were both dead and that only his own destruction was necessary to consummate the complete orphanage of the two sons. He undoubtedly is referring only to his own relationship as a parent. It is difficult to fix the age of the elder of these two sons. In the trial of 1513 one of the witnesses, as we shall soon see, characterises the boy as *niño* and *niñico* at the end of the year 1491, and this would suggest an age of not more than ten years. If, then, we

¹ Ferdinand Columbus would have been between four and five years old at this time, and there is no inconsistency in the Admiral speaking of him as being at school. It is probable that he was in the care of his mother, as perhaps also was the other son Diego.

accept this as probable, Diego would have been in his fifth year when he departed out of Portugal with his father. There are no means of determining the order of birth of Diego and the other children Columbus left behind him in Portugal. We would naturally suppose he was the oldest. He was appointed, May 8, 1492, on the turn of his father's fortunes, page to the infant Don Juan, son of Ferdinand and Isabella, who was fourteen years of age in the year 1492.

The darkest days were those of the winter of 1491 and 1492. If Columbus was ever poor, he was poor then. If he was ever hopeless, he was hopeless then. The Spanish Sovereigns had resolved upon the capture of Granada. On April 23, 1491, King Ferdinand encamped within sight of its walls. This city was to be the last stand of the Moors. A few miles to the westward of the city, across a plain made fat, as Mariana says, by the blood that had been shed for many years by Spaniard and by Moor, the Sovereigns built a fortified camp called Santa Fé, which was indeed a city as well as camp, named to commemorate their unconquerable faith in the purpose and power of God and which, as has been said, was the only city in Spain never profaned by the foot of the Moslem. Hither at the close of the year 1491 came Columbus with his familiar project. The years were passing and they appeared to bring him no nearer the fulfilment of his plans. He must have an answer from the Spanish Sovereigns. Other kings there were whose ears would not be heavy nor their arms shortened to aid in so great an enterprise. But, alas! the eyes of the Spanish Sovereigns were fastened on an object seven miles to the eastward of their camp. How could they look out across the Western seas to the isles and lands beyond! A Council was again called and this Junta, like the one held at Salamanca, was of small help to Columbus. Alessandro Geraldini¹ was himself present at this Council, which he says was composed of the most eminent men and was held in the city of "Iliberis, that place which in our time is called Granada." He says that most of the Spanish prelates quoted Nicolas de Lyra and Saint Augustin to prove that the ideas of Columbus were heresies. Then this same Alessandro Geraldini leaned over to the Most Reverend Cardinal of Spain, Gonzales de Mendoza, and whispered that to his mind the geographical knowledge of

¹ Geraldini, *Itinerarium*, lib. xiv.

the fathers of the Church had been somewhat modified and enlarged since in these days the Portuguese navigators had been on a point in another hemisphere where the North Star no longer appeared in the heavens and where the pilot's eye was fixed on another star and another pole. We have not the reply of Mendoza, but Oviedo tells us that the Cardinal knew Columbus through the efforts of Alonso de Quintanilla and had given him several audiences and had come to take a great interest in him and his projects. Oviedo adds that because of this interest he had succeeded in making the King and Queen listen and that from then on the Sovereigns began to give ear to his petitions and proposals. However this may be, the Council did not advise the prosecution of the project and the King and Queen did not hold out an immediate hope.

The reader will understand that there are two distinct views to be taken concerning this second Junta. The first suggests a date early in December, 1491, and the scene, the camp at Santa Fé. The second suggests a date subsequent to January 6, 1492, and the scene the city of Granada, captured by the Moors and occupied by the Spanish forces. Those who hold to this second view will find room not only for the Junta and its adverse decision but for the discomfiture of Columbus and his exit from the city of Granada upon the mule which he had procured at Palos and for the messenger overtaking him on the bridge of Pinos with the joyful news of a reversal of judgment by the Spanish Sovereigns, or at least by Isabella, the Queen of Castile. As for ourselves, we believe that the second Junta was held in the camp at Santa Fé in November or December of the year 1491, and that as a result of its unfavourable decision Columbus left the Court and made his way on foot with his little son Diego to the monastery of La Rabida. The testimony of Garcia Hernandez fixes the inquiry as immediately preceding the departure of Columbus from the Court and his appearance at La Rabida. The language of Alessandro Geraldini in fixing the place as at Granada may be interpreted as covering the territory in that neighbourhood which would include the site of the camp at Santa Fé. We believe that to all intents and purposes an agreement was reached between Queen Isabella and the ambassador of Columbus, Father Juan Perez, as a result of which the twenty thousand maravedis was sent him and his return to

the Court was promptly secured. After all his years of importunity it is extremely improbable that the Queen or her officers would have invited Columbus to return, or that Columbus himself would have again repaired to the Court, if a definite understanding had not been reached. We believe it possible and even probable that after Columbus arrived at the Court there occurred serious differences of opinion between the Sovereigns and himself, relative to his demands. We can scarcely believe that there arose a disagreement sufficiently strong to account for the retirement of Columbus in disappointment and anger, from which he was recalled on the bridge of Pinos. After once having decided upon engaging in the enterprise the Sovereigns appear to have met (for a time at least) the demands of Columbus with a response of the largest liberality.

It was, then, probably the latter part of December in the year 1491 that Columbus turned his face away from the Spanish Court, as he thought for ever. It was his darkest hour. It was not merely that his plans had not been accepted, but that they had been rejected after so many years of patient waiting; and each new proposal to foreign Courts must needs have its own long period of probation, of inquiry, of doubting juntas, until the strength of the man should fail him and his soul despair. His son Diego was with him. He set out from Santa Fé and travelled on foot ¹ to the coast, where he purposed again leaving Diego with his wife's sister, the woman Muliar at Huelva, and himself taking ship for France or some other land less indifferent to his project, and perhaps ready to welcome him and lend assistance to his designs. Not far from where the little river Odiel is joined by the still smaller river Tinto, in the south-west corner of Spain, lies a little place of eternal interest to us of America, for here came Columbus to the convent of La Rabida in sorrow, neglect, and hopelessness at the end of the year 1491, and from the little anchorage close by departed Columbus a few months later on his memorable voyage of discovery. The convent of La Rabida still stands, white in the Andalusian sun, but its glories are departed, it is emptied of its friars, it no longer

¹ Thus is taken out of history the spectacular scene where the message of the Queen overtakes Columbus as he is half way over the famous bridge of Pinos near Granada and calls him back from despair to hope. The scene was magnificent,—but it was not true.

gives food to the hungry or shelter to the weary, for none to-day passes its doors. But at the convent portal that December night knocked Christopher Columbus, who had made his way up the hill from the water-side below, asking alms and a bed for himself and little boy. While conversing with the porter, the Prior of the monastery, Friar Juan Perez, came forward, and observing that the man was a foreigner and a stranger, he inquired who he was and whence he came. Then was loosened that tongue which the stranger thought never again within the land of Spain would speak of his project or urge his plans. Long and eloquently he spoke of his hopes for adding new lands and new peoples to the Crown of the Spanish Sovereigns whose gentlemen and whose scholars had derided him in Court and mocked him in council. And now, he told the father, he was on his way to Huelva with his little boy to consult with his brother-in-law Muliar. The star of Columbus was in the ascendant. He was unfolding his plans to a sympathetic soul, to a mind capable of receiving new things and of entertaining large views. In Palos was a young man, Garcia Hernandez, who knew something of astronomy. He was summoned to the monastery, and the Prior Juan Perez, Columbus, and Hernandez, all three spoke together, and in the council of a few was much wisdom. Father Juan Perez was the Confessor to the Queen, and he volunteered to write a letter to her Highness, urging her to reconsider the determination of the Court and to undertake the expedition which Columbus had prepared. This letter was intrusted to a messenger by the name of Sebastian Rodriguez, a pilot of Lepe. In the meantime Columbus and his boy rested within the monastery. When fourteen days had passed the messenger returned, bearing a letter from the Queen to Father Perez, thanking him for calling her attention again to the matter, and commanding him when he should have read her letter to appear at Court, leaving Columbus behind at the monastery, but leaving him with the precious boon of a new hope, until she herself should write him. That night before the hour of low twelve had sounded through the halls of the monastery the good father secretly mounted his mule and departed for the Court at Santa Fé. When the father and the Queen had consulted, it was agreed that his prayer should be granted, and that three vessels should be equipped for the expedition. Then the Queen, calling

to her Diego Prieto, a citizen of Granada, gave him twenty thousand maravedis¹ and a letter which he was to hand to the witness, and which he was in turn to deliver to Christopher Columbus. The letter told the successful suppliant that at last his prayer was heard, that he must forthwith purchase a mule and prepare himself with proper raiment to appear before her Gracious Majesty. Columbus must have been impressed with the character of Garcia Hernandez, for to him and to a priest by the name of Martin Sanchez he left his little son Diego. Then light of heart, with the mirage of new lands appearing in the western sky of his fancy, Columbus set out for the new city of Santa Fé to kiss the hand that had once rejected the now successful suitor. That the reader may have clearly before him this important turning-point in the career of Columbus, the testimony of Dr. Garcia Hernandez is here given in full. It was first published to the world by Navarrete in 1829, although Señor Don Josef de la Higuera é Lara, General Archivist of the Indies, made a certification on August 23, 1826, and while this was incomplete in reporting much of the matter contained in *Las Probanzas*, the particular question answered and the testimony of Garcia Hernandez are there given completely and fully.

"García Hernandez, físico, . . . : é que sabe que el dicho Almirante D. Cristóbal Colon viniendo á la arribáda con su fijo D. Diego, que es agora Almirante, á pie, se vino á Rábida, que es monasterio de frailes en esta villa, el cual demandó á la portería que le diesen para aqual niño, que era niño, pan y agua que bebiese: y que estando allí ende este testigo, un fraile, que se llamaba Fr. Juan Perez, que es ya difunto, quiso hablar con el dicho Don Cristóbal Colon, é viéndole disposicion de otra terra é reino ageno en su lengua le preguntó que quién era, é donde venia, é quel dicho Cristóbal Colon le dijo que él venia de la corte de S. A., e le quiso dar parte de su embajada, é que fué á la corte é como venia: é que dijo el dicho Cristóbal Colon al dicho Fr. Juan Perez, como habia puesto en plática á descubrir ante S. A., é que se obligaba á dar la tierra firme, queriéndole ayudar S. A. con navios é las cosas pertenecientes para el dicho viage é que conviniesen: é que muchos de los caballeros y otras personas que así se fallaron al dicho razonamiento, le volaron su palabra é que no fué acogida, mas que ántes facian burla de su razon, diciendo que tantos tiempos acá se habian probado é puesto navíos en la buscar, é que todo era un poco de aire é que no habia razon dello: quel dicho Cristóbal Colon, viendo ser su razon disuelta en tan poco conocimiento de lo que ofrecia de facer é de cumplir, él se vino de la

¹ As we have calculated the value of the maravedi, this sum would amount to about \$123.

corte é se iba derecho de esta villa á la villa de Huelva para fallar y verse con un su cuñado, casado con hermana de su muger, é que á la sazón estaba, é que habia nombre Muliar; é que viendo el dicho fraile su razon, envió á éllamar á este testigo, con el cual tenia mucha conversacion de amor, é porque alguna cosa sabia del arte astronómica, para que hablase con el dicho Cristóbal Colon, é viese razon sobre este caso del descubrir; y que este dicho testigo vino luego é fablaron todos tres sobre el dicho caso, é que de aqui eligieron luego un hombre para que llevase una carta á la reina Doña Isabel, que haya santa gloria, del dicho Fr. Juan Perez, que era su confesor; el cual portador de la dicha carta fué Sebastian Rodríguez, un piloto de Lepe, é que detuvieron al dicho Cristóbal Colon en el monasterio fasta saber respuesta de la dicha carta de S. A. para ver lo que por ella proveian, y así se fizo; é dende de catorce dias la Reina nuestra Señora, escribió al dicho Fr. Juan Perez, agradeciéndole mucho su buen propósito, é que le rogaba é mandaba que luego vista la presente pareciese en la corte ante S. A., é que dejase al dicho Cristóbal Colon en seguridad de esperanza fasta que S. A. le escribiese: é vista la dicha carta é su disposición, secretamente se partió ante de media noche el dicho fraile del monasterio, é cabalga en un mulo, é cumplió el mandamiento de S. A. é pareció en la corte, é de allí consultaron que le diesen al dicho Cristóbal Colon tres navíos para que fuese á descubrir é facer verdad su palabra dada; é que la Reina nuestra Señora, concedido esta, envió 20,000 maravedis en florines, los cuales trujo Diego Prieto, vecino de esta villa, é los dió con una carta á este testigo para que los diese á Cristóbal Colon para que se vistiese honestamente y mercase una bestezuela é pareciese ante S. A. é quel dicho Cristóbal Colon recibió los dichos 20,000 maravedis. é partió ante S. A. como dicho es, é consultaron todo lo susodicho, é de allí vino proveido con licencia para tomar los dichos navíos quel señalase que convenia para seguir el dicho viage, é de esta fecha fué el concierto é compañía que tomó con Martin Alonso Pinzón é Vicente Yañez, porque eran personas suficientes é sabidos en las cosas de mar, los cuales allende de su saber é del dicho Cristóbal Colon, le avisaron é pusieron en muchas cosas, las cuales fueron en provecho del dicho viage, é de esta pregunta esto sabe."

"Garcia Hernandez, physician, deposes . . . and says that he knows the said Admiral Don Christopher Columbus in coming on foot to the landing-place with his son, Don Diego, who is now Admiral, came to Rabida, which is a monastery of friars in this town, and asked the porter to give him bread, and water to drink for the boy, who was a small child: and that this witness being there, a friar who is now dead, called Fr. Juan Perez, desired to talk with the said Don Christopher Columbus, and seeing that he appeared to be of another country and kingdom and foreign in his language, he asked him who he was and whence he came: and that the said Christopher Columbus told him he was coming from the Court of her Highness, and that he would make known to him his errand, and why he went to the Court and why he was coming away: and that the said Christopher Columbus told the said Fr. Juan Perez how he had caused the making of discoveries

to be discussed before her Highness and that he pledged himself to find the mainland, if her Highness would aid him with vessels and the things pertaining thereto, for the said voyage, and which would be required therefor: and that many of the gentlemen and other persons who were present at the said discussion made light of his speech and that it was not accepted, but that instead they ridiculed his reasoning saying that they had tried there so many times and had sent ships in search of the mainland and that it was all air and there was no reason in it: that the said Christopher Columbus seeing his argument dissolved because of so little knowledge of what he offered to do and fulfil, came away from the Court and was going straight from this town to the town of Huelva in order to find and converse with a brother-in-law of his, who was married to a sister of his wife, and who was living there at the time and was named Muliar: and that the said friar, appreciating his argument, summoned this witness,—with whom he had much friendly conversation, as he knew something of the astronomer's art,—in order that he should speak with the said Christopher Columbus, and that he might be convinced in regard to the matter of making discoveries: and that this said witness then came and that they all three talked about the said matter, and that they then chose a man from here to carry a letter to the Queen Doña Isabella (may she rest in glory) from the said Fr. Juan Perez, who was her confessor: which bearer of the letter was Sebastian Rodriguez, a pilot of Lepe, and that they detained the said Christopher Columbus in the monastery until they learned the reply to the said letter to her Highness in order to see what she decided, and thus it was done: and at the end of fourteen days the Queen, our Lady, wrote to the said Fr. Juan Perez, thanking him greatly for his good proposition, and praying him and commanding him when he had read her letter to appear in Court before her Highness, and telling him to leave the said Christopher Columbus in the security of hope until her Highness should write him: and having read the said letter and her decision, the said friar left the monastery secretly before midnight, mounted on a mule, and complied with the command of her Highness and appeared at the Court: and there they advised that three vessels should be given to the said Christopher Columbus that he might go and make discoveries and prove true the words he had spoken: and that the Queen, our Lady, having conceded this, sent 20,000 maravedis in florins, which were brought by Diego Prieto, citizen of this town, and he gave them, with a letter, to this witness, to be given to Christopher Columbus in order that he might clothe himself decently, and buy a small beast and appear before her Highness: and that the said Christopher Columbus received the said 20,000 maravedis, and went before her Highness as has been said; that they consulted in regard to all the aforesaid, and from there he came provided with permission to take the said vessels which he should designate as suitable to undertake the said voyage: and the agreement and fellowship which he formed with Martin Alonso Pinzón and Vicente Yañez dated from this time, because they were suitable persons and had a knowledge of matters pertaining to the sea, who advised him and

arranged many things beyond his [the witness's] knowledge and that of the said Christopher Columbus, which were for the benefit of the said voyage: and by this question, this thing is known."

The Moslem King sent a letter to King Ferdinand, which the latter received with glad surprise on the first day of the year 1492, in which he invited the Spanish King to come and take possession of the city of Granada. On the second day of January in that eventful year the Spanish armies entered within the city's walls, and close to the Alhambra the King of Spain received the keys of the castle and the homage of the Moor. Boabdil, the Little King, offered to kiss the hand of the Sovereign, but this mark of subjection Ferdinand did not exact.¹ The formal entry into the city was made on Friday, January 6, 1492. In the preamble, or *prologo*, to his *Journal*, Columbus writes ²:

"Porque, cristianísimos, y muy altos, y muy excelentes, y muy poderosos Príncipes, Rey y Reina de las Españas y de las islas de la mar, nuestros Señores, este presente año de 1492, despues de vuestras Altezas haber dado fin á la guerra de los moros que reinaban en Europa, y haber acabado la guerra en la muy grande ciudad de Granada, adonde este presente año a dos dias del mes de Enero por fuerza de armas vide poner las banderas Reales de vuestras Altezas en las torres de Alfambra, que es la fortaleza de la dicha ciudad, y vide salir al Rey Moro á las puertas de la ciudad y besar las Reales manos de vuestras Altezas y del Príncipe mi Señor, y luego en aquel presente mes por la informacion que yo habia dado á vuestras Altezas de las tierras de India. . . ."

"Because, *Most Christian*, and very exalted and very excellent and very powerful Princes, King and Queen of the Spains and of the islands of the sea, our Lords in this present year of 1492, after your Highnesses had made an end to the war of the Moors who were reigning in Europe, and having finished the war in the very great city of Granada, where, in this present year, on the second day of the month of January, I saw the royal banners of your Highnesses placed by force of arms on the towers of the Alhambra, which is the fortress of the said city; and I saw the Moorish King come out to the gates of the city and kiss the royal hands of your Highnesses and of the Prince, my Lord; and then in that same month, because of the information which I had given your Highnesses about the lands of India. . . ."

Thus the reader will see that Christopher Columbus was at the Court when the city of Granada capitulated on January 2, 1492, and that consequently he had been summoned by the Queen back to the Court with money to buy a mule and suitable

¹ Mariana, lib. xxv.

² Navarrete, vol. i., p. 1.

clothing, and that having supplied himself with these, and having made his journey from Palos to Santa Fé, he arrived previous to the events of the first and second day of January. It was, then, not the fall of Granada and the subjection of the Moors which inclined the heart of Isabella to accept the proposition of Columbus. The expedition of discovery was to be undertaken whether the Moslem power fell or continued its stubborn resistance. This new and splendid design was to be woven in the loom of royal action before the old pattern of Moorish subjugation had been finished and completed. It makes the triumph of Columbus brighter. He forced to royal consideration in the midst of exciting and culminating events a subject new, foreign, uncertain. The victory was the individual victory of Columbus, fortified and controlled by his high purpose. His hour had come.

CHAPTER LIII

THE CAPITULATION

FROM the opening lines in the *Journal* it is evident that Columbus considered his agreement with the Sovereigns was practically reached when he returned to the camp at Santa Fé on the last days of December, 1491, or the first day of January, 1492. We know he was with the Court on January 2, 1492, and after the negotiation undertaken by the priest from La Rabida, and accepted by the Sovereigns while Columbus was yet at the monastery, it is probable the very presence of the adventurer was a formal act of agreement. In his *Journal*, begun either before or on August 3, 1492, when he commenced his voyage, Columbus says:

"Así que despues de haber echado fuera todos los judíos de todos vuestros reinos y señoríos, en el mismo mes de Enero mandaron vuestras Altezas á mí que con armada suficiente me fuese á las dichas partidas de India."

"So that, after having banished all the Jews from all your kingdoms and realms, in the same month of January, you ordered me to go with a sufficient fleet to the said regions of India."

The edict expelling the Jews from Spain was signed March 30, 1492, although doubtless efforts had already been made to force these good citizens from their homes, and many entire households had already moved themselves from out the unfriendly land. The wholesale banishment did not take place until some months subsequent to January, and therefore the entry in the *Journal* is not exact. The written agreement between Columbus and the Sovereigns, the two documents known as constituting the Capitulation, are *first*, that executed on April 17, 1492, containing the five famous articles or items of concessions, and, *second*, that executed April 30, 1492, containing a dissertation

on the Divine Right of Kings, followed by an elaborate definition of the powers and privileges appertaining to the offices of Admiral, Viceroy, and Governor. The first document was the vital instrument. The five articles provided as follows:

Article one, that he should be Admiral of such islands and mainland as he or his heirs should discover or acquire with such prerogatives as belonged to the office of High Admiral of Castile:

Article two, that he should be Viceroy and Governor-General in all those islands or mainlands he might discover or acquire, with power to name three persons for each office under him, from which three persons the Sovereign must select one ¹:

Article three, that he should have a tenth of the profits arising from buying, bartering, discovering, acquiring, or obtaining merchandise of whatsoever kind:

Article four, that he should in his quality of Admiral have in himself or by deputy sole cognisance or judicial jurisdiction of any suit growing out of trade or traffic in the lands and islands to be discovered:

Article five, that whenever and as often as ships should be equipped for traffic, he should have the right to furnish one eighth of all that should be expended in the equipment and have and enjoy one eighth of the profits which should result from such equipment.

In this Capitulation of April 17, 1492, there is no word said about a third interest in any revenues or profits.

Article one provided for the exercise of the pre-eminences and prerogatives appertaining to the office of High Admiral of Castile, as formerly exercised by Don Alfonso Enriquez. But this concession carried with it no money rewards other than the usual salary of the office. If Don Alfonso Enriquez in the reign of King John and his mother, the Regent Catherine, enjoyed under his grant great honours and pre-eminences, like honours and pre-eminences were to be enjoyed by Columbus, confined, however, to the regions of his prospective discoveries. In the second document of the Capitulation, executed April 30, 1492, there is no direct mention of a third money interest in the profits and emoluments, but there is conceded Columbus not only the pre-eminences and prerogatives of

¹ The American Civil Service Reformer of to-day will recognise a suggestion of his system with that first exercised in America.

the office of Admiral, but civil and criminal jurisdiction with power to punish and to collect fees and penalties. In addition, there is conceded him "the salary, dues, and other things" appertaining to the office of High Admiral. Columbus interpreted this concession to mean that the "salary, dues, and other things" were to be those which King John in the year 1416 had conferred on his uncle Don Alfonso Enriquez, High Admiral of Castile. When Columbus investigated the rights and privileges conferred on Don Alfonso Enriquez, he found this important provision:

"E tengo por bien que todas las ganancias que el dicho mi Almirante mayor oviere o fiziere en la mi flota o por la mar que aya Yo las doss partes, e el dicho Almirante la terçia parte e yendo el por su cuerpo mesmo en la dicha flota, aunque la dicha flota o parte della se aparte por su mando, o syn su mandado, o otrosi que todas las galeas que yo mandare armar syn flota para ganar, que dela ganancia que oviere, que aya Yo las doss partes, e el dicho Almirante la terçia parte. Otrosy tengo por bien e mando que todas las galeas e naos e galeotas e leños e otras fustas quales quier, que armaren a otras partes de que Yo aya de aver el quinto, que Yo aya las doss partes deste dicho quinto, e el dicho Almirante la terçia parte del."

"And I declare that of all the profits which the said my said High Admiral may receive or make in my fleet or on the sea, I shall have the two parts and the said Admiral the third part, he going in person in the said fleet although the said fleet or some part thereof may depart by his order or without his order, and also that all the galleys which I may order to equip the fleet for the purpose of making gain, of the gain which is received I shall have two parts and the said Admiral the third part. Also I declare and order that all the galleys and ships and galleacæ and boats and other vessels [foists] which may be equipped for other regions in which I am to have a fifth share, that I shall have two parts of the said fifth and the said Admiral shall have the third part of it."

The gains or profits referred to here are not to be considered as "salary, dues, or other things" appertaining to the office of High Admiral. If there were no "gains or profits," the High Admiral would doubtless receive a regular salary. But even if Columbus felt himself entitled to a third part of the gains, it would appear—by inference rather than by the expression itself—that this was confined to what was captured on the high seas from enemies. Christopher Columbus, Admiral of the Ocean, was not instructed or empowered to capture ships upon the seas. That this distinction between profits gained from sea-enterprises and such as he contemplated on land, although reached by the

sea, was recognised by Columbus is evident from Document No. XXXXII. in the *Book of Privileges* made by Columbus himself in 1502, wherein the legal adviser of Columbus claims that the benefit should be interpreted as belonging to the duties and obligations of the office, quoting the legal phrase, *propter officium datum beneficium*. Manifestly the duties of Admiral, as expected of Columbus, were not to wage war by sea and capture galleys and ships as in the case of Don Alfonso Enriquez, but to go by sea to discover new lands and to institute and excite trade and traffic from which should flow gains and profits. It is needless to say that Columbus nowhere appears to have received a third of any gain or profit arising from his discovery. If Columbus and his heirs had been permitted to derive, first, a third part of all gains and profits in the New World, second, a tenth part of all gains and profits in the New World, third, an eighth part of all gains and profits, it must be apparent that his revenues would be immense even in comparison with those accruing to the Sovereigns or the Crown of Castile. If, now, as was claimed for him, these portions were to be deducted from the whole before the shares allotted the Crown were paid, it would seem that his office controlled by himself or by his heirs would reap a greater reward than that of Royalty itself.

The reader may well be struck with amazement when he finds in neither of these documents of the Capitulation any reference to India or a voyage to the Eastern countries by way of the Western ocean. Columbus is here made to contemplate only a discovery of islands and mainlands, and the King and Queen are made to provide only for governing such lands and sharing the gains to come from trade and possession. The Great Khan is not mentioned. Prester John and his Christian subjects have no part in this commercial drama. It is when we turn to the first entry in the *Journal* that we find the project of Columbus as it appeared to both him and his Sovereigns, a voyage to the Oriental regions by way of the west, to carry to the Eastern nations the religious faith of the Catholic Kings. On the way there might be found islands and mainlands, inasmuch as tradition and rumour and scientific prophecies all pointed to their existence in the ocean-sea, although, said Columbus, *we do not know that up to this day any human being ever went that way*. In expectation, yea, in confident expectation, that such lands

might be found, documents were formally executed, giving, granting, and conceding prospective enjoyments of prospective discoveries. The incidental project had a happy issue, and from the day of discovery to this time men have been interested in preserving the records connected therewith rather than a remembrance of the contemplated voyage to the Orient and the conversion of the Great Khan. There were other documents, letters to princes, papers of instruction and of guidance, but for them no one has searched, and if found their purport would be of little matter compared to the significance of these two documents making of the Genoese sailor a High Admiral of Spain and admitting him to partnership with the Crown of proud Castile.

"LA CAPITULACION

"Las cosas suplicadas e que Vuestras Altezas dan e otorgan á Don Christoval Colon en alguna satisfacion delo que ha descubierto enlas mares oceanas e del viaje que agora conel ayuda de Dios ha de fazer, por ellas en servicio de Vuestras Altezas, son las que se siguen:

"Primeramente que Vuestras Altezas como Señores que son delas dichas mares oceanas fassen dende agora al dicho Don Christoval Colon su Almirante en todas aquellas yslas e tierra firme que por su mano e yndustria se descubiran o ganaran enlas dichas mares oceanas para durante su vida e despues del muerto a sus herederos e subcesores de uno en otro perpetuamente con todas aquellas preheminiencias e prerrogatyvas pertenecientes al tal oficio e segun que Don Alonso Enriques vuestro Almirante Mayor de Castilla e los otros precesores enel dicho oficio lo tenian en sus distritos. Plaze a Sus Altezas. Juan de Coloma.

"Otrosy que Vuestras Altezas hazen al dicho Don Christoval su Viso Rey e Governador General en todas las dichas yslas e tierra firme y yslas que como dicho es el descubriere o ganare enlas dichas mares a que para el regimiento de cada una ex qualquier dellas faga elecion de tres personas para cada oficio, y que Vuestras Altesas tomen y escojan uno el que mas fuere su servicio e asy seran mejor regidas las tierras que nuestro Señor le dexare fallar e ganar a servicio de Vuestras Altesas. Plaze a Su [s] Altesa[s]. Juan de Coloma.

"Yten que todas e quales quier mercaderias sy quier sean perlas, piedras, preciosas, oro, plata, espeçeria, y otras quales quier cosas e mercaderias de qual quier espeçie nombre e manera que se compraren, trocaren, fallaren, ganaren e ovieren dentro delos limites del dicho almirantadgo que dende agora Vuestras Altesas fazen merced al dicho Don Christoval, y quieren que aya, y lieve para sy la dezena parte de todo ello quitadas las cosas que se hizieren enello por manera que delo que quedare lynnpio e libre aya e tome la decima parte para sy mismo e faga dello a su voluntad quedando las otras

nueve partes para Vuestras Altesas. Plase a Sus Altesas. Juan de Coloma.

"Otrosy que sy a cabsa delas mercadurias que el trajera delas dichas yslas e tierra que asy como dicho es se ganaren o descubrieren o delas que en troque de aquellas se tomaren aca de otros mercaderes naçiere plito alguno enel logar donde el dicho comertio e trato se terna e fara que sy por la prehemencia de su ofiçio de almirante le perteneçera conoçer del tal plito plega a Vuestra[s] Altesa[s] que el o su teniente e non otro juez conozca del tal plito e asy, lo provea dende agora. Plase a Sus Altesas sy perteneçe al dicho ofiçio de almirante segun que lo tenia el almirante Don Alonso Enriques e los otros sus subçesores en sus distritos e syendo justo. Juan de Coloma.

"Yten que en todas los navios que se amaren para el dicho trato e negociacion cada e quando e quantas vezes se amaren que pueda el dicho Don Christoval Colon sy quisiere contribuir e pagar la ochava parte e todo lo que se gastare enel armazon. E que tambien aya e lieve del provecho la ochava parte delo que resultare dela tal armada. Plase a Sus Altesas. Juan de Coloma.

"Son otorgados e despachadas conlas respuestas de Vuestras Altesas en fin de cada un capitulo enla villa de Santa Fe dela Vega de Granada, a dies e syete dias de abril del año del naçimiento de nuestro Salvador Jesu Christo de mill e quatro cientos e noventa e dos años. Yo el Rey. Yo la Reyna. Juan de Coloma. Registrada. Calçena."

"THE CAPITULATION

"The things supplicated and which your Highnesses give and declare to Christopher Columbus in some satisfaction for what he has discovered ¹ in the oceans, and for the voyage which now, with the aid of God, he is about to make therein, in the service of your Highnesses, are as follows:

"Firstly, that your Highnesses as Lords that are of the said oceans, make from this time the said Don Christopher Columbus your Admiral in all those islands and mainlands which by his hand and industry shall be discovered or acquired in the said oceans, during his life, and after his death, his heirs and successors, from one to another perpetually, with all the pre-eminences and prerogatives belonging to the said office and accord-

¹ The document as given by the Sovereigns did not contain the preliminary phrase. It was inserted in the *Book of Privileges* in January, 1502, and at that time was introduced with these words. Navarrete (vol. ii., p. 7, Document V.) gives the Capitulation as copied from the original at the city of Isabella in the island of Española December 16, 1495, drawn up in the presence of the Admiral by the Public Notary of Isabella, Rodrigo Perez, and witnessed by Rafael Catanco, citizen of Seville; Adan de Marquina, citizen of Guernicaiz; Pedro de Salcedo, citizen of Fuen-saldaña, and Francisco de Madrid, citizen of Madrid. In this Isabella transcript the opening words read . . . "en alguna satisfacion delo que ha de descubrir"—"as some satisfaction for what he is to discover. . . ." When the *Book of Privileges* was prepared the scribe carelessly used the wrong part of speech. It really formed no part of the document as issued by the Sovereigns and was simply a title or description of the instrument.

ing as Don Alonso Enriques, your High Admiral of Castile, and the other predecessors in the said office held it in their districts. It so pleases your Highnesses. John de Coloma.

"Likewise, that your Highnesses make the said Don Christopher your Viceroy and Governor General in all the said islands and mainlands and islands which as has been said, he may discover or acquire in the said seas; and that for the government of each one and of any one of them, he may make selection of three persons for each office, and that your Highnesses may choose and select the one who shall be most serviceable to you, and thus the lands which our Lord shall permit him to discover and acquire will be better governed, in the service of your Highnesses. It so pleases their Highnesses. John de Coloma.

"Item, that all and whatever merchandise, whether it be pearls, precious stones, gold, silver, spices, and other things whatsoever, and merchandise of whatever kind, name, and manner it may be, which may be bought, bartered, discovered, acquired, or obtained within the limits of the said Admiralty, your Highnesses grant henceforth to the said Don Christopher, and will that he may have and take for himself, the tenth part of all of them, deducting all the expenses which may be incurred therein; so that of what shall remain free and clear, he may have and take the tenth part for himself, and do with it as he wills, the other nine parts remaining for your Highnesses. It so pleases their Highnesses. John de Coloma.

"Likewise, that if on account of the merchandise that he might bring from the said islands and land, which as aforesaid he shall acquire and discover, or of that which may be taken in exchange for the same from other merchants here, any suit should arise in the place where the said trade and traffic shall be held and conducted; and if by the pre-eminence of his office of Admiral it may belong to him to know of such suit, it may please your Highnesses that he or his deputy and no other judge, may take cognisance of the said suit, and thus it is decreed henceforth. It so pleases their Highnesses if it belongs to the said office of Admiral, as the said Admiral Don Alonso Enriques held it and the others, his predecessors in their districts, and if it be just. John de Coloma.

"Item, that in all the vessels which may be equipped for the said traffic and negotiation each time and whenever and as often as they may be equipped, the said Admiral Don Christopher Columbus may, if he wishes, contribute and pay the eighth part of all that may be expended in the equipment. And also that he may have and take of the profit, the eighth part of all which may result from such equipment. It so pleases their Highnesses. John de Coloma.

"These are executed and despatched with the responses of your Highnesses at the end of each article in the town of Santa Fe de la Vega de Granada, on the seventeenth day of April in the year of the nativity of our Saviour Jesus Christ one thousand four hundred and ninety-two. I, the King. I, the Queen. By order of the King and of the Queen. John de Coloma. Registered Calçena."

“Enel nombre dela Sancta Trinidad e eterna Unidad Padre e Hijo e Spiritu Santo tress personas realmente distintas e una esençia divina que bive e reyna por sienpre syn fin e dela bien aventurada Virgen gloriosa Santa Maria nuestra Señora su madre aqui en nos tenemos por Señora e por abogada en todos los nuestros fechos e a onrra e reverençia suya e de bien aventurada Apostol Señor Santiago luz y espejo delas Españas, patron e guiador delos Reyes de Castilla e de Leon e asy mismo a honrra e reverençia de todos los otros santos e santas dela corte celestial porque aunque segun natura non puede el ome cunplida mente conoçer que cosa es Dios por el mayor conoçimiento que del mundo puede aver, puedelo conosçer veyendo e contemplan do sus maravillas e obras e fechos que hizo e faze de cada dia pues que todas las obras por su poder son fechas e por su saber gobernadas e por su bondad mantenidas e asy el ome puede entender que Dios es comienço e medio e fyn de todas las cosas e que enel se ençierran, y el mantiene a cada uno en aquel estado que las borden, y todos le han menester y el no ha menester aellas y el las puede mudar cada vez que quisiere segund su voluntad, y non puede caber enel que se mude ni se canbie en alguna manera, y el es dicho rey sobre todos los Reyes por que del han ellos nonbre e por el reynan y el los gobierna e mantiene los quales son vicarios suyos cada uno en su reyno puestos por el sobre las gentes para los mantener en justiçia, y en verdad temporal mente lo qual se muestra cunplida mente en dos maneras, las una dellas es espiritual segund lo mostraron los profetas, y los santos aqui en dio nuestro Señor graçia de saber las cosas çierta mente e las hazer entender, la otra manera segund natura asy como lo mostraron los omes sabios que fueron conoçedores delas cosas natural mente ca los Santos dixerón que el Rey es puesto en la tierra en lugar de Dios para cunplir la justiçia, e dar a cada uno su derecho, y porende lo llamaron coraçon, y alma del pueblo, e asy como el alma esta enel coraçon del ome, y por el bive el cuerpo y se mantiene, asy enel Rey esta la justiçia que es vida e mantenimiento del pueblo de su señorio, e asy como el coraçon es uno e por el reçiben todos los otros mienbros unidad para ser un cuerpo bien asy todos los del reyno maguer sean muchos son onu, porque el Rey deve ser, y es uno y por eso deven ser todos unos conel para lo seguir e ayudar en las cosas que ha de fazer, y natural mente dixerón los sabios que los Reyes son cabeça del reyno por que como dela cabeça naçen los sentidos, porque se mandan todos los mienbros del cuerpo, bien asi por el mandamiento que nace del Rey, que es Señor y cabeça de todos los del Reyno se deven mandar e guiar y lo obedecer, y tan grande es el derecho del poder delos Reyes, que todas las leyes y los derechos tienen so su poderio, porque aquel no le han delos omes, mas de Dios, cuyo lugar tienen en las cosas temporales, alqual entre las otras cosas principalmente perteneçe amar y honrrar y guardar sus pueblos, y entre los otros señalada mente deve tomar y honrrar a los que lo mereçen, por serviçios que le ayan fecho, y porende el Rey o el Principe entre los otros poderes que ha, no tan solamente puede mas deve faser graçias a los que las merescen por serviçios que le ayan fecho y por bondad que falle en ellos, y porque entre las otras virtudes anexas a los Reyes segund dixerón

los sabios, es la justicia, la qual es virtud e verdad las cosas, por lo qual mejor e mas endereçadamente se mantiene el mundo, y es asy como fuente donde manan todos los derechos e dura por sienpre en las voluntades delos omes justos, e nunca desfalleçe, e da e reparte a cada uno ygual mente su derecho, e comprehende ensi todas las virtudes principales, y naçe della mui grand utilidad, por que fase vivir cuerda mente y en paz a cada uno segund su estado, syn culpa e syn yerro, e los buenos se hasen por ella mejores, reçibiendo galardones por los bienes que fizieron, e los otros por ella se endereçan e emiendan, la qual justiciã tiene ensi doss partes principales, la una es comutativa que es entre un one e otro, la otra es distributiva, en la qual consiguen los galardones e remuneraciones delos buenos e virtuosos trabajos e serviçios, que los buenos fassen a los reyes e principes e ala cosa publica de sus reynos. E por que segund disen las leyes, dar galardón, a los que bien e leal mente syrven, es cosa que conviene mucho a todos los omes mayormente a los reyes e principes e grandes señores, que tienen poder dello faser, y a ellos es propia cosa honrrar y sublimar a aquellos que bien e leal mente le syrven, e sus virtudes e serviçios lo meresçen, y en galardonar los buenos fechos, los Reyes que lo fassen muestran ser conoçedores dela virtud, otrosy justicieros, ca la justiciã non es tan sola mente es escarmentar los malos mas aun en galardonar los buenos, y demas desto naçe della otra grand utilidad, porque da voluntad a los buenos para ser mas virtuosos e a los malos para emendarse, y quando asy no se hase podria acaesçer por contrario, y porque entre los otros galardones e remuneraciones que los Reyes pueden faser a los que bien e leal mente le syrven, es honrrarlos e sublimarlos entre los otros de su linage, e los ennobleçer e decorar e honrrar e les faser otros muchos bienes e graçias e merçedes, porende considerando, e acatando lo suso dicho, queremos que sepan por esta nuestra carta de privilegio, o por su treslado sygnado de escrivano publico, todos los que agora son e seran de aqui adelante, como nos Don Fernando e Doña Ysabel, por la graçia de Dios Rey e Reyna de Castilla e de Leon, de Aragon, de Siçilia, de Granada, de Toledo, de Valencia, de Galizia, de Mallorcas, de Sevilla, de Cerdeña, de Corçega, de Murçia, de Jahen, del Algarbe, de Algezira, de Gibraltar e delas Yslas de Canaria, Conde e Condesa de Barçelona, Señores de Viscaya e de Molina, Duques de Athenas e de Neopatria, Condes de Rosellon e de Cerdania, Marqueses de Oristan e de Goçiano, vimos una carta de merçed, firmada de nuestros nombres e sellada con nuestro sello, fecha en esta guisa. Don Fernando e Doña Ysabel, por la graçia de Dios Rey e Reyna de Castilla, de Leon, de Aragon, de Siçilia, de Granada, de Toledo, de Valencia, de Galizia, de Mallorcas, de Sevilla, de Cerdeña, de Cordova, de Corçega, de Murçia, de Jahen, del Algarbe, de Algezira, de Gibraltar, e delas yslas de Canaria, Conde e Condesa de Barçelona e Señores de Viscaya e de Molina, Duques de Athenas, e de Neopatria, Condes de Rosellon e de Cerdania, Marqueses de Oristan e de Goçiano, Por quanto vos Christoval Colon, vades por nuestro mandado, a descubrir e ganar con çiertas fustas nuestras e con nuestras gentes çiertas yslas e tierra firme en la mar oçeana, e se espera que con la ayuda de Dios se descubran e ganaran algunas delas dichas yslas e

tierra firme enla dicha mar oçeana por vuestra mano e yndustria, e asy es cosa justa e rasonable, que pues os pones al dicho peligro por nuestro seruiçio, seades dello remunerado, e queriendos honrrar e faser merçed por lo suso dicho, es nuestra merçed e voluntad que vos el dicho Christoval Colon, despues que ayays descubierto e ganado las dichas yslas e tierra firme enla dicha mar oçeana o quales quier dellas, que seades nuestro Almirante delas dichas yslas e tierra firme que asy descubrierdes, e ganardes e seades nuestro Almirante, e Viso Rey, e Governador enellas, e vos podades dende en adelante llamar e yntitular, Don Christoval Colon, e asy vuestros fijos e subçesores enel dicho ofiçio e cargo, se puedan yntitular, e llamar, Don, e Almirante e Viso Rey, e Governador dellas, e para que podades usar e exerçer el dicho ofiçio de Almirantadgo, conel dicho ofiçio de Viso Rey, e Governador delas dichas yslas e tierra firme, que asy descubrierdes y ganardes, por vos, o por vuestros lugar tenientes, e oyr e librar todos los plitos e cabsas çiviles e criminales tocantes al dicho ofiçio de Almirantadgo, e de Viso Rey e Governador, segund fallardes por derecho, e segund lo acostumbran usar e exerçer los Almirantes de nuestros reynos, e podades punir e castigar los delinquentes, e usedes delos dichos ofiços de Almirantadgo e Viso Rey e Governador vos e vuestros dichos lugar tenientes, en todo lo que alos dichos ofiços, e a cada uno dellos, es anexo e conçerniente, e que ayades e levedes los derechos e salarios alos dichos ofiços e a cada uno dellos anexos e conçernientes e pertenesçientes segund e como los lieva e acostumbra levar el nuestro Almirante mayor enel Almirantadgo delos nuestros reynos. E por esta nuestra carta, o por su traslado sygnado de escrivano publico, mandamos al Príncipe Don Juan, nuestro muy caro e muy amado fijo, e a los ynfantes, duques, perlados, marqueses, condes, maestros de las ordenes, priores, comendadores, e alos del nuestro consejo, e oydores dela nuestra Abdiencia, alcaldes e otras justiçias quales quier dela nuestra casa e corte e chançilleria, e alos subcomendadores, alcaydes delos castillos e casas fuertes e llanas, e a todos los conçejos e a systentes e regidores, e alcaldes e alguasyles, merinos, veynte e quattros, cavalleros, jurados, escuderos, ofiçiales e omes buenos, de todas las çibdades e villas e logares delos nuestros reynos e señorios, e delos que vos conquistardes e ganardes, e alos capitanes, maestros, contramaestres e ofiçiales marineros, e gentes dela mar, nuestros subditos e naturales, que agora son o seran de aqui adelante e a cada uno e qual quier dellos, que siendo por vos descubiertas e ganadas las dichas yslas e tierra firme enla dicha mar oçeana, e fecho por vos o por quien vuestro poder oviere, el juramento e solepnidad que en tal caso se requiere, vos ayan e tengan dende en adelante para en todo vuestra vida, e despues de vos a vuestro fijo e subçesor, e de subçesor en subçesor, para sienpre jamas, por nuestro Almirante dela dicha mas oçeana, e por Viso Rey e Governador delas dichas yslas e tierra firme que vos el dicho Don Christoval Colon descubrierdes e ganardes, e usen con vos, e conlos dichos vuestros lugar tenientes, que enlos dichos ofiços de Almirantadgo e Viso Rey e Governador pusierdes, en todo lo aellos, conçerniente, e vos recudan e fagan recudir, conla quitaçion e derechos, e otras cosas, alos dichos ofiços anexas

e pertenesçientes, e vos guarden e fagan guardar todas las honrras e graçias e merçedes e libertades preheminiçias prerrogativas esençiones ymunidades, e todas las otras cosas, e cada una dellas, que por rason delos dichos ofiçios de Almirante, e Viso Rey, e Governador deveades aver e gosar e vos deven ser guardadas, en todo bien e conplida mente, en guisa que vos non mengue ende cosa alguna, e que enello ni en parte dello embargo ni contrario alguno vos non pongan ni consientan poner, ca nos por esta nuestra carta desde agora para entonçes vos fazemos merçed de los dichos ofiçios de Almirantazgo e Viso Rey e Governador, por juro de heredad para syempre jamas, e vos damos la posesyon e casy posesion, dellos e de cada uno dellos, e poder e abtoridad para lo usar e exerçer e llevar los derechos e salarios, aellos e a cada uno dellos anexos e perteneçientes, segund e como dicho es. Sobre lo qual todo que dicho es, sy neçesario vos fuere e gelos vos pidiertes mandamos al nuestro chançiller e notarios, e los otros ofiçiales que estan ala tabla delos nuestros sellos, que vos den e libren e pasen e sellen nuestra carta de privilegio rodado, la mas fuerte e firme e bastante, que les pidiertes e ovierdes menester. E los unos ni los otros non fagades ni fagan ende al por alguna manera, so pena dela nuestra merçed, e de dies mill maravedis para la nuestra camara, a cada uno que lo contrario fiziere. E de mas mandamos al ome que les esta nuestra carta mostrare, que los emplase que parescades ante nos enla nuestra corte do quier que nos seamos del dia que los emplasare, a quize dias primeros siguientes sola dicha pena, sola qual mandamos a qual quier escrivano publico, que para esto fuere llamado que de ende al que gela mostrare testimonio signado con su signo, por que nos sepamos encomo se cumple nuestro mandado. Dada enla nuestra çibdad de Granada a treynta dias del mes de Abril, año del nascimiento de nuestro Señor Jesu Christo de mill e quatroçientos e noventa e dos años. Yo el Rey. Yo el Reyna. Yo Iohan de Coloma Secretario del Rey e dela Reyna nuestros Señores la fis escrivir por su mandado. Acordada en forma. Rodericus Doctor. Registrada. Savastian Dolano. Francisco de Madrid Chançiller."

[The translation here follows that given in Stevens's *Book of Privileges*.]

"In the name of the Holy Trinity and Eternal Unity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, three persons really distinct and one divine essence which lives and reigns for ever without end, and of the blessed and glorious Virgin, Saint Mary, our Lady, his mother, whom we regard as sovereign and advocate in all our actions, and to her honour and worship, and of the blessed Apostle Saint James, light and mirror of the Spains, patron and guide of the Kings of Castile and Leon, and likewise to the honour and worship of all the other saints of the celestial court. Now though according to nature man cannot know perfectly what God is, however great His knowledge of the world may be, yet he can know Him by seeing and contemplating His wonders and the works and acts which He has done and does every day, since all works are done by His power, governed by His wisdom and maintained by His goodness; and thus man can understand that God is the beginning, middle, and end of all things, and that in Him they are comprehended; and

He maintains each one in that state which He has ordained for them, and all have need of Him and He has no need of them, and He is able to change them whenever He may choose, according to His will; and it is not in His nature to change or alter in any manner; and He is called King over all Kings, because from Him they derive their name and by Him they reign, and He governs and maintains them, and they are His viceregents, each one in His kingdom, placed by Him over the nations to maintain them in justice and in truth, temporally; which is shown completely in two ways, one being spiritual, as the prophets and saints have shown, to whom our Lord gave grace to have accurate knowledge of things and to cause them to be understood; the other is according to nature, as philosophers have shown, who were discerners of things naturally. For the Saints said that the King is set upon earth in the place of God to fulfil justice and to give to each one his due, and therefore they called him the heart and soul of the people; and just as the soul is in the heart of man, and by it the body lives and is maintained, so in the King resides justice, which is the life and support of the people of his dominions; and just as there is but one heart and by it all the members are united to form one body, even so all the members of the kingdom, however many they may be, are one, because the King must be, and is, one, and therefore they must all be one with him to follow him and to help in the things which he has to do; and according to nature the philosophers said that kings are the head of the kingdom, for as from the head proceed the perceptions by which all the members of the body are directed, even so by the mandate which proceeds from the King, who is Lord and head of all the members of the kingdom, they must be governed and directed and must pay obedience thereto; and so great is the authority of the power of kings, that all laws and rights are subject to their power, for they do not derive it from men, but from God, whose place they occupy in matters temporal; to whom among other things it chiefly appertains to love, honour, and protect his people, and among others he must especially select and honour those who deserve it on account of the services they have rendered to him; and therefore, the king or prince, among his other powers, not only can but ought to bestow favours upon those who are deserving thereof for the services they have rendered to him and for the goodness he may find in them. And because among the other virtues appertaining to kings, according to the saying of the philosophers, justice is one, and is the virtue and truth of things, and by it the world is best and most righteously maintained, and it is, as it were, a fountain from which all rights flow, and it always exists in the dispositions of just men, never failing, and giving and distributing to each his due; and it comprehends in itself all the principal virtues, and very great utility arises therefrom, for it causes every one to live prudently and peaceably according to his condition, without fault and without error; and thereby the good become better, receiving rewards for the good deeds they have done, and the others are reformed and amended. And this justice consists of two principal parts, the one commutative, which is between one man and another, the other distributive, in which are ob-

tained the rewards and remunerations of the good and virtuous labours and services which good men do for kings and princes and for the public welfare of their kingdoms. And since, as the laws declare, to give rewards to those who serve well and faithfully is a thing which is very becoming to all men, but especially to kings, princes, and great lords, who have the power to do it, and it is their peculiar privilege to honour and exalt those who serve them well and faithfully, and whose virtues and services deserve it; and in rewarding good deeds the kings who do so show that they are discerners of virtue and likewise administrators of justice, for justice does not consist only in the exemplary punishment of evil-doers, but also in rewarding the good. And moreover another great utility arises therefrom, for it incites the good to become more virtuous and the wicked to amend themselves, and when this course is not pursued the contrary might happen. And since among the other rewards and remunerations which kings can bestow upon those who serve them well and faithfully they can honour and elevate them among the others of their family, and ennoble, decorate, and honour them, and confer many other benefits, graces, and favours upon them: Therefore, considering and taking into account all that is aforesaid, we desire that by this our patent of privilege, or by the transcript thereof signed by a public scrivener, all who now are and shall be from henceforth may know that we Don Ferdinand and Donna Isabella, by the grace of God King and Queen of Castile, Leon, Aragon, Sicily, Granada, Toledo, Valencia, Galicia, Majorca, Seville, Sardinia, Corsica, Murcia, Jaen, Algarbe, Algeciras, Gibraltar, and the Canary Islands; Count and Countess of Barcelona; Lords of Biscay and Molina, Dukes of Athens and Neopatria; Counts of Roussillon and Cerdagne, Marquises of Oristano and Goziano, have seen a patent of grace, signed with our names and sealed with our seal, made in this manner: *Don* Ferdinand and *Donna* Isabella, by the grace of God King and Queen of Castile, Leon, Aragon, Sicily, Granada, Toledo, Valencia, Galicia, Majorca, Seville, Sardinia, Cordova, Corsica, Murcia, Jaen, Algarbe, Algeciras, Gibraltar, and the Canary Islands; Count and Countess of Barcelona; Lords of Biscay and Molina; Dukes of Athens and Neopatria, Counts of Roussillon and Cerdagne, Marquises of Oristano and Goziano; Forasmuch as you, Christopher Columbus, are going by our command, with some of our ships and with our subjects, to discover and acquire certain islands and mainland in the ocean, and it is hoped that, by the help of God, some of the said islands and mainland in the said ocean will be discovered and acquired by your pains and industry; and therefore it is a just and reasonable thing that since you incur the said danger for our service you should be rewarded for it, and as we desire to honour and favour you on account of what is aforesaid, it is our will and pleasure that you, the said Christopher Columbus, after you have discovered and acquired the said islands and mainland in the said ocean, or any of them whatsoever, shall be our Admiral of the said islands and mainland which you may thus discover and acquire, and shall be our Admiral and Viceroy and Governor therein, and shall be empowered from that time forward to call and entitle yourself

Don Christopher Columbus, and that your sons and successors in the said office and charge may likewise entitle and call themselves Don, and Admiral and Viceroy and Governor thereof; and that you may have power to use and exercise the said office of Admiral, together with the said office of Viceroy and Governor of the said islands and mainland which you may thus discover and acquire, by yourself or by your lieutenants, and to hear and determine all the suits and causes civil and criminal appertaining to the said office of Admiralty, Viceroy, and Governor according as you shall find by law, and as the Admirals of our kingdoms are accustomed to use and exercise it; and may have power to punish and chastise delinquents, and exercise the said offices of Admiralty, Viceroy, and Governor, you and your said lieutenants, in all that concerns and appertains to the said offices and to each of them; and that you shall have and levy the fees and salaries annexed, belonging and appertaining to the said offices and to each of them, according as our High Admiral in the Admiralty of our kingdoms levies and is accustomed to levy them. And by this our patent, or by the transcript thereof signed by a public scrivener, we command Prince Don Juan, our very dear and well beloved son, and the Infantes, dukes, prelates, marquises, counts, masters of orders, priors, commanders, and members of our Council, and auditors of our chamber, alcaldes, and other justices whomsoever of our household, court, and chancery, and sub-commanders, governors of castles and fortified and unfortified houses, and all councillors, assistants, governors, alcaldes, bailiffs, judges, veinticuatros, jurats, knights, esquires, officers, and liege men of all the cities, towns, and places of our kingdoms and dominions, and of those which you may conquer and acquire, and the captains, masters, mates, officers, mariners, and seamen, our natural subjects who now are or hereafter shall be, and each and any of them, that upon the said islands and mainland in the said ocean being discovered and acquired by you, and the oath and formality requisite in such case having been made and done by you or by him who may have your procuration, they shall have and hold you from thenceforth for the whole of your life, and your son and successor after you, and successor after successor for ever and ever, as our Admiral of the said ocean, and as Viceroy and Governor of the said islands and mainland, which you, the said Don Christopher Columbus, may discover and acquire; and they shall treat with you, and with your said lieutenants whom you may place in the said offices of Admiral, Viceroy, and Governor, about everything appertaining thereto, and shall pay and cause to be paid to you the salary, dues and other things annexed and appertaining to the said offices, and shall observe and cause to be observed towards you all the honours, graces, favours, liberties, pre-eminences, prerogatives, exemptions, immunities, and all other things, and each of them, which in virtue of the said offices of Admiral, Viceroy, and Governor you shall be entitled to have and enjoy, and which ought to be observed towards you in every respect fully and completely so that nothing may be diminished therefrom; and that neither therein nor in any part thereof shall they place or consent to place hindrance or obstacle against you; for we by this our patent from

now henceforth grant to you the said offices of Admiralty, Viceroy, and Governor by right of inheritance for ever and ever, and we give you actual and prospective possession thereof, and of each of them, and power and authority to use and exercise it, and to collect the dues and salaries annexed and appertaining to them and to each of them, according to what is aforesaid. Concerning all that is aforesaid, if it should be necessary and you should require it of them, we command our chancellor and notaries and the other officers who are at the board of our seals to give, deliver, pass, and seal for you our patent of privileges with the circle of signatures, in the strongest, firmest, and most sufficient manner that you may request and may find needful, and neither one nor the other of you or them shall do contrary hereto in any manner, under penalty of our displeasure and of ten thousand maravedis to our chamber, upon every one who shall do to the contrary. And further we command the man who shall show them this our patent, to cite them to appear before us in our court, wheresoever we may be, within fifteen days from the day of citation, under the said penalty, under which we command every public scrivener who may be summoned for this purpose, to give to the person who shall show it to him a certificate thereof signed with his signature, whereby we may know in what manner our command is executed. Given in our city of Granada, on the thirtieth day of the month of April, in the year of the nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ one thousand four hundred and ninety-two. I the King. I the Queen. I, John de Coloma, Secretary of the King and of the Queen, our Lords, caused this to be written by their command. Granted in form, Roderick, Doctor. Registered, Sebastian Dolano. Francis de Madrid, Chancellor."

CHAPTER LIV

THE EQUIPMENT

THE discoverer and the inventor will testify that the most difficult step in their progress has been to obtain an equipment. A conception is without form or substance; money is real. A conception is a dream in the mind of the inventor; money is perceptible to the touch. Whether the conception is ever born or not, money goes on, reproducing itself faithfully and constantly. A conception of itself will not assume bodily form. Money of itself will not produce a conception. When money is sent after a conception, it may come back again, or it may not. Whoever contributes money for the material development of a useful idea is entitled to his reward. Thus we are interested to know who equipped the fleet of Columbus, and how much money was furnished. We do not know that either of these questions can be answered with entire satisfaction. Even if there existed to-day the books of accounts relating to the equipment, they probably would not disclose all we want to know. If Las Casas is right in placing the amount furnished by Columbus himself at 500,000 maravedis, and in fixing that feature of his interest in the enterprise as one eighth of the whole, it will not tell us who supplied Columbus with the money for his eighth. Somehow, history will not credit the Genoese adventurer with the possession of wealth at this epoch. It is more than likely, as we have already surmised, that the Duke of Medinaceli furnished a part, if not the whole, of this eighth share.

In accordance with the terms of the capitulation, dated April 17, 1492, Columbus was entitled to contribute one eighth of the expenses and to receive one eighth of the profit.¹ That

¹ The reader will find in Document LIII. of the *Book of Privileges* a curious paragraph relative to the cost of the expedition. This document is the rejoinder from

he actually did contribute this one eighth is apparent from the Majorat executed February 22, 1498, where the Admiral says:

" . . . é yo habiese el diezmo de todo lo que en el dicho Almirantazgo se fallase é hobiese é rentase, y asimismo la octava parte de las tierras y todas las otras cosas. . . ."

" . . . and that I should have the tenth of everything that might be discovered and possessed and produced in the said Almirantazgo, and also the *eighth part* of the lands and of all other things. . . ."

And again in the same document, a little farther on, we read:

" É porque esperamos en aquel alto Dios que se haya de haber antes de grande tiempo buena é grande renta en las dichas islas y tierra-firme de la cual por la razon sobre dicha me pertenece el dicho diezmo y ochavo. . . . "

" And as we hope in that high God that before long we may have a good and great revenue in the said islands and continental land, of which for the reason aforesaid the tenth and the *eighth belong to me*. . . . "

The Admiral could have acquired his rights to the eighth part only by having contributed his eighth of the cost on the occasion of the memorable first voyage. We find Las Casas stating:

" Y porque Cristóbal Colon quiso contribuir la ochava parte en este viaje, por que con solo el cuento de maravedis que por los Reyes prestó Luis de Santangel no podia despacharse, y tambien por haber de la ganancia su ochavo, y como Cristóbal Colon quedó de la corte muy alcanzado, y puso medio cuento de maravedis por el dicho ochavo, que fué todo para se despachar necesario, como pareció por las cuentas de los gastos que se hicieron por ante escribano publico en la dicha villa y puerto de Palos, que el dicho Martin Alonso, cosa es verosimile y cercana de la verdad, segun lo que yo tengo entendido, presto solo al Cristóbal Colon el medio cuento, o el y sus hermanos."

" And as Christopher Columbus wished to contribute the eighth part of the expense of this voyage in order to have his eighth of the profit (since he Columbus or his legal adviser to the objections made by the Sovereigns against the Admiral's interpretation of Article Five of the Capitulation.

" Porque en la primera armada de que resulto las dichas Yndias es asaber la ganancia que dellas procede tal dicho Almirante contribuyo en su ochava parte, y aun cerca dela mitad dela costa de donde consyguio perpetuo tytulo al dicho ochavo por ser el resulto dela dicha armada senpyterno."

" Since in the first expedition from which resulted the said Indies, to ascertain the gain which proceeded therefrom, the said Admiral contributed his eighth part and even about a half of the cost, from whence he secured a perpetual title to the said eighth, because the result of the said expedition is perpetual."

This reference to furnishing one half the cost by Columbus appears to be the language of exaggeration.

could not complete his preparations with the million maravedis loan, which Luis de Santangel secured for the Sovereigns), and inasmuch as Christopher Columbus came from the Court in very needy circumstances and considered the half million maravedis enough to contribute for the said eighth part (which was all that was necessary for the preparation of the fleet as appeared by the accounts of the expenses made before a notary public in the said town and port of Palos) it is a fact quite probable and apparently true according to what I have understood, that the said Martin Alonso of himself or for himself and brothers together, did lend Christopher Columbus the half million."

In the Fiscal inquiry the Pinzón family claimed to have supplied Columbus with this money. Arias Perez Pinzón, the son of Martin Alonso Pinzón, the eldest of three brothers of that name, and the one who, tradition says, died of grief because the Sovereigns declined to receive him at Court when he returned to Spain after the first voyage, deposed that Columbus agreed with his father to share with him in all that he received from what the Sovereigns gave him, whereupon the said Martin Alonso furnished the money, and sent him (Columbus) to the Court with a Friar named Juan Perez.¹ This witness further testified that when he was at Rome in 1491, his father, Martin Alonso Pinzón, was frequently in the library of Pope Innocent VIII., being on friendly terms with one of its attendants, a man greatly skilled in cosmography, and who had many manuscript documents; that on one of these visits his father was shown a document, together with a map of the world, which gave a knowledge of these lands afterwards discovered. Martin Alonso made a copy of this document, and this he read to his son. Then Martin Alonso, having learned these things, told his son that he himself wished to equip two ships and go on a voyage for the discovery of these lands. In the Fiscal inquiry of 1511, all this testimony is heard for the first time. Twenty-two witnesses were examined, and of these only four had ever heard anything of this matter. Of these four, there were three who had heard the matter by rumour, and only one, Martin Alonso's own son, testified to having had read to him the copy of the document on file in the Pope's library. Navarrete advances the theory that Columbus and the Friar, Juan Perez, when they found such a strong feeling among the people of Palos against taking part in the expedition, to-

¹ Navarrete, vol. iii., p. 559.

gether concocted this story in order to show the people that previous knowledge of the lands existed, and that, as Martin Alonzo knew of it and was going on the expedition with his brother because of his faith in the document and in its revelation, they, too, should have confidence in the proposed voyage, and lend it their aid and countenance, especially in volunteering as mariners and crew. But Navarrete forgets that, to be effective, such rumours should have been general and common property, whereas of the twenty-two residents of Palos and its vicinity, only four had ever heard the story. Martin Nuñez, a citizen of Palos, testified that he knew Martin Alonzo Pinzón gave two of his ships to Columbus. Martin Nuñez was only fifteen years of age when this occurred, and it is hardly likely he was a witness to any such improbable occurrence. As Harris has pointed out, the strongest evidence against the contribution having come from the Pinzóns is found in the omission to recall the fact, had it been a fact, in the Act of Charles V. when, in 1519, he granted that family the right to bear arms. In this Act are recited the memorable things done by the various members of the family, mentioning Martin Alonzo Pinzón and Vincente Yañez Pinzón, the one the captain of the second, and the other the captain of the third vessel of the little fleet of Columbus; while reference is made to their services in sailing with the Admiral on the voyage of discovery, nothing is said about their contributing to the expense, while there is particular reference to the voyage to the Pearl Coast, in which these men equipped three vessels *at their own expense*. It is probable that had the Pinzóns made any such sacrifice in the first voyage, it would have been placed to their credit in this important document, especially as it would have been the Royal excuse for granting the arms. The Pinzóns did render services upon the first voyage. Their presence in the expedition, their high standing in the community of Palos, their ability as seamen, gave a promise of success which could not be offered alone by Columbus, a stranger in Palos and a foreigner, as the Friar Juan Perez saw at a glance when a short time before they stood together at the monastery gate. As citizens of a seaport town, the inhabitants of Palos were used to sailors and adventurers of every nation, but it was a serious proposition when they were asked to enroll themselves on an expedition to unknown lands on an

unknown sea under an unknown commander. It does not appear that the Pinzóns owned any of the vessels, unless it possibly may have been the *Niña*, and therefore they might have escaped from going at all. The fact that they did go and that their example influenced others alone distinguishes their services and makes them worthy of remembrance.

That Las Casas himself did not credit this Columbus-Pinzón story is clear from the following passage:

"Ansí que, como dije, sucedió que el Fiscal, por informacion de algun marinero, pusiese algunas preguntas para probar que el dicho Martin Alonso habia dado dineros al dicho Cristóbal Colon para ir á la corte la primera vez, y, despues de alcanzada de los Reyes la dicha negociacion y capitulacion, que le habia prometido de partir con él la mitad de las mercedes y privilegios que le habian concedido los Reyes, y otras cosas, que, como por la misma probanza parece, lo cual yo he visto y tenido en mi poder y leido muchas veces, se convencen de falsedad. Cierto, si le hobiera prometido Cristóbal Colon la mitad de las mercedes, no era tan simple Martin Alonso, siendo él y sus hermanos sabios y estimados por tales, que no hobieran pedídole alguna escritura dello, aunque no fuera sino un simple cognoscimiento con su firma, ó al ménos, pusiéranle algun pleito sus herederos, y Vicente Yañez, que vivio despues muchas años, el cual yo conocí, hobiera alguna queja ó fama dello, pero nunca hobo dello memoria ni tal se boqueó (lo cual creo yo que á mí no se me encubriera, como yo sea muy de aquellos tiempos) hasta quel dicho pleito se comenzó, que creo que fué el ano de 1508, venido el Rey católico de Napoles."

"Therefore, as I said, it happened that the Fiscal, from information given by some sailor, put some questions to prove that the said Martin Alonso had given moneys to the said Christopher Columbus to go to the Court the first time, and after having obtained from the Sovereigns the said agreement and capitulation, that he had promised to share with him the half of the grants and privileges conceded him by the Sovereigns and the other things, which, as appears by the same testimony (which I have seen and had in my possession and read many times) *is shown to be false*. Certainly if Christopher Columbus had promised the half of the grants, Martin Alonso was not simple enough, he and his brothers being intelligent men and considered as such, not to have secured from him some writing, even if it was only a simple acknowledgment with his signature, or at least his heirs would have brought some suit and Vicente Yañez, who survived him many years (whom I knew) would have made some complaint or account thereof, but I never had knowledge of such (and this would not have been concealed from my knowledge as I myself was a part of those times) nor was any such thing heard of until the said law-suit commenced, which I believe was in the year 1508 on the return of the Catholic King from Naples."

The conduct of Martin Alonso Pinzón was not that of a man who was a partner in a great enterprise. Even his share of the eighth would have been an inducement for him to work in harmony with Columbus. Instead, he separated himself from him more than once, and we will see in the *Journal* that on the voyage Columbus had small assistance from the Pinzón family, with abundant causes of complaint. This attitude of Pinzón would be all the more inexplicable if we were to credit the claim made before the Fiscal that Columbus had pledged himself to give Martin Alonso half of all his rights, interests, and income. In none of the numerous documents and letters of Columbus do we find any mention of financial assistance rendered him by the Pinzóns. As we understand Las Casas, he acknowledges the moral support accorded Columbus in the port of Palos by the Pinzóns, who were men of standing in the community, and whose examples influenced the common mariners to intrust themselves to the hazard of the enterprise, but he does not assert that there existed an agreement or bond proving that the Pinzóns had furnished actual money, or that Columbus had mortgaged his rights or his interests to a Pinzón or to any one else. On the contrary, Las Casas characterises such reports as false.

Thus far we find that Columbus was a contributor, and that common report credited him with furnishing 500,000 maravedis. In the archives of Simancas are still preserved the account books of the *Hermidadad*,¹ whose treasurers were Luis de Santangel and Francisco Pinelo. These accounts disclose the fact that during the years 1492 and 1493 there had been returned to them the sum of 1,140,000 maravedis for moneys furnished Hernando de Talavera, Archbishop of Granada, formerly Bishop of Avila, for equipping the fleet of Columbus. The following extract is from the Royal Cedula of the Sovereigns to Fernando de Villadiego, dated from Segovia, August 19, 1494:

¹ The *Hermidadad* or *Santa Hermidadad* was an organisation empowered to consider and deal with all crimes committed on the highways of Spain or in cases where criminals were found on the highways but whose crimes had been committed in cities. It had once been so powerful an order as to embarrass the Crown itself, but had lost its power when Isabella, on her accession in 1476, revived it in Castile on account of the social disorder existing in her realms. The penalty for even a petty theft was stripes as a minimum punishment and the loss of life as a maximum. The order was empowered to raise money from the inhabitants, the ostensible purposes of which were the enforcement of the law and the suppression of domestic violence. Thus they accumulated great sums of money, and frequently furnished the means of relieving the obligations of other branches of the Government.

"El rey e la Reina. Fernando de Villadiego, tesorero é comisario en cierta parte de los obispados de Oviedo é Astorga: el muy reverendo in Cristo padre arzobispo de Granada por nuestro mandado hobo librado en Rui Garcia Suarez e Luis de Santángel, nuestro escribano de racion é de nuestro consejo, doscientos é noventa mil maravedis en cuenta de dos cuentos e seiscientos é cuarenta mil maravedis que hobo de haber, el un cuento é cuarenta mil maravedis que nos prestó para despachar a Cristobal Colon, é el un cuento e quinientos mil maravedis que pagó por nuestro mandado a D. Isaque Abranel, segun mas largamente en el dicho libramiento se contiene. . . ."

"The King and the Queen. Fernando de Villadiego, Treasurer and Commissary in a certain part of the Bishoprics of Oviedo and Astorga: Whereas the very reverend in Christ, father archbishop of Granada, by our command has paid to Rui Garcia Suarez and Luis de Santangel, our escribano de racion and a member of our Council, 290,000 maravedis on account of 2,640,000 maravedis which were due him, the 1,040,000 maravedis which he loaned us to equip Christopher Columbus, and the 1,500,000 maravedis which he paid by our order to D. Isaque Abranel, as is contained more at length in the said warrant. . . ."

That an error was made in copying the figures relating to the Columbus item is evident from a previous record quoted by Navarrete, where, alluding to this same entry in the books of the said treasurers, he says the sum was written "*un cuento é ciento é cuarenta mil maravedis*"—"one million and one hundred and forty thousand maravedis."

"Vos fueron recibidos é pagados en cuenta un cuento é ciento é cuarenta mil maravedis que distes por nuestro mandado al Obispo de Avila, que agora es Arzobispo de Granada, para el despacho del Almirante D. Cristobal Colon."

"You had received and paid on account one million and one hundred and forty thousand maravedis, which you gave by our order to the Bishop of Avila, who is now Archbishop of Granada, for the equipment of the Admiral, Don Christopher Columbus."

Again, in another book of accounts of Garcia Martinez and Pedro de Montemayor, constituting Bulls of the Bishopric of Palencia from the year 1484 and following, Navarrete found the following entry:

"Dió y pagó mas el dicho Alonso de las Cabezas (tesorero de la Cruzada, en el Obispado de Bajadoz) por otro libramiento del dicho Arzobispo de Granada, fecho 5 de Mayo de 92 años, á Luis de Santangel, Escribano de Racion del Rey, nuestro Señor, é por él á Alonso de Angulo, por virtud de un

poder que del dicho Escribano de Racion mostró, en el cual estaba inserto dicho libramiento, doscientos mil maravedis, en cuenta de cuatrocientos mil que en él, en Vasco de Quiroga, le libró el dicho Arzobispo por el dicho libramiento de dos cuentos seiscientos cuarenta mil maravedis que hobo de haber en esta manera: un cuento y quinientos mil maravedis para pagar á D. Isag Abrahan por otro tanto que prestó á sus Altezas para los gastos de la guerra, é el un cuento ciento cuarenta mil maravedis restantes para pagar al dicho Escribano de Racion en cuenta de otro tanto que prestó para la paga de las carabelas que sus Altezas mandaron ir de armada á las Indias, é para pagar á Cristobal Colon que va en la dicha armada." ¹

"Furthermore, the said Alonso de las Cabezas (treasurer of the Crusade in the Bishopric of Bajadoz) gave and paid by another warrant of the said Archbishop of Granada, made on the 5th of May in the year 1492 to Luis de Santangel, Escribano de Racion of the King, our Lord, and through him to Alonso de Angulo, by virtue of an authorisation which he exhibited from the said Escribano de Racion, in which was inserted the said warrant, 200,000 maravedis on account of 400,000 paid to Vasco de Quiroga, which the said Archbishop paid by the said warrant of 2,640,000 maravedis which he was to receive in this manner: 1,500,000 maravedis to pay to D. Isag. Abrahan for a like sum which he loaned to their Highnesses to carry on the war, and the 1,140,000 maravedis remaining to pay the said Escribano de Racion on account of a like sum which he loaned to pay for the caravels which their Highnesses ordered to go as a fleet to the Indies, and to pay to Christopher Columbus, who went in the said fleet."

This entry was copied for Navarrete on November 15, 1814, by Thomas Gonzales, who certified under oath that it was a literal transcript from the original records in the archives of Simancas.

Luis de Santangel the Escribano, was of the proscribed faith.

The Jews had an important part given them in the American drama. Few names among the *dramatis personæ* were more illustrious than those of Luis de Santangel and Gabriel Sanchez. When the craze against the Jews was at its height in Spain, when persecution sorely tormented them, when their property was confiscated and their lives in peril, many apostatised and pretended to accept the Christian faith. These became known as Marranos, and many of them rose to places of distinction and influence. Few of these conversions were real. While professing the religion of the Christians they privately observed their old faith and practised in secret the Jewish rites. On the

¹ Navarrete, vol. ii., p. 5

Sabbath, the feasts of the Passover, and other days commonly observed by their ancestral religion, those Marranos met in subterranean or secret synagogues and celebrated the appointed ordinances. Their wealth brought them a certain immunity, and purchased secrecy when suspected and sometimes pardon when convicted. The fires of persecution kept warm their love for their fathers' faith. Under the tortures of the Inquisition they often confessed that certain Christians had furnished them with such animals and flesh as they required for keeping the Jewish precepts and observing the law of Moses. After the institution of the Inquisition the treatment of the Jews was cruel in the extreme. If they committed a crime of any moment, they were burned at the stake. If the offence was slight, their property was taken ruthlessly from them. Sometimes they were condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and often to a penalty they feared worse than all, that of wearing the *sanbeneto*, a piece of yellow cloth hanging on the breast and back with a large red cross embroidered upon it. With their pretence of Christianity they must have drunk of the blood of revenge, for in despair over their wrongs, it is alleged, they resorted to murder. Many Marranos met at the home of one Luis de Santangel, whose house is still pointed out in the Mercado of Saragossa, and conspired to kill the chief Inquisitor, the Canon Pedro Arbués de Epila. On the morning of September 14, 1485, Pedro Arbués, being at matins in the Cathedral of La Seo in Saragossa, he was set upon by Juan de Esperandeu and a man in his employ by the name of Vidal Durango, a Frenchman, and left for dead at the altar. Arbués died of his wounds on the following day, and years afterward Charles V. obtained from Pope Paulus III. an order that a feast in remembrance of this event should be celebrated on September 15. It is possible that political motives likewise had a part in the organisation of this tumult, for Saragossa had more than once mutinied in defence of its privileges. The Queen, usually gentle and moderate, moved by this murder of Arbués, ordered that throughout Spain no mercy should be shown to Marranos and that their possessions should be confiscated to the State. Among these conspirators were Sancho de Paternoy, Chief Treasurer of Aragon; Alfonso de la Caballeria, Vice-Chancellor; Juan Pedro Sanchez, brother of Gabriel and Francesco

Sanchez; Garcia de Moros, Pedro Montfort, Juan de la Abadia, Mateo Ram, and many others. When the reader at the beginning of the twentieth century peruses the history of the Spaniards in America, he marvels at the ingenuity displayed by them in torturing the natives. The art, however, had long been practised in Spain, and the refinements of cruelty had been developed from off the scarred and bleeding bodies of the pale-faced Jew and the dusky Moor. In this particular instance the punishment fell with heavy hand. Juan de Esperandeu, the principal, was carried to the Plaza and made to look on while his aged and innocent father was burned at the stake. His own hands were then cut off when, with his apprentice, Vidal Durango, he was dragged through the streets to the market place and then quartered and then burned. Juan de la Abadia was drawn, quartered, and given to slow eating flames, and shortly afterward his sisters, together with Pedro Muñoz and Pedro Montfort, were thrown to the flames. All the conspirators were deprived of their property.

By far the most powerful and important of Marranos was the Santangel family. It had intermarried with the De la Caballeria, the Gurrea, the Sanchez, and other old Jewish houses. The Santangels converted, outwardly at least, to Christianity became prominent throughout Aragon, and particularly in Valencia and Saragossa. They were bright, intelligent, active, and persistent, and as teachers of the law and as advocates, as occupants of governmental positions and of places at Court, even as priests and ecclesiastics in the Romish Church, they were prominent above most of the Aragonese families. They paid for their prominence, and several of their members were among the first Jewish heretics burned at the stake. Martin de Santangel perished in this barbarous fashion on July 28, 1486, and on August 18, 1487, Mosen Luis de Santangel, father-in-law of the Treasurer, Gabriel Sanchez, travelled the same lurid pathway. The mother of Gabriel Gonçalo de Santangel was burned on July 10, 1489, and six years later Gabriel Gonçalo himself perished at the stake.¹ Luis de Santangel of the Columbian history was himself obliged on July 17, 1491, to parade the

¹ Llorente, in his *Hist. de l'Inquisition*, dwells on the number of important families represented at the *autos da fé*, but Dr. M. Kayserling has searched the original processes and thus discovered the names of the individuals suffering this punishment.

streets with the hated *sanbeneto* upon his breast. It was the supreme wisdom of the Writer of this great drama, the Divine Dramatist who creates situations and who moves human puppets across the stage of life, that in less than one year after his humiliation, this Jew, this faithful apostate, was to be one of the principal instruments in drawing back the curtain, which for ever had concealed the New World, and to reveal a stage on which were to be enacted some of the most interesting scenes in the history of the world.¹

Luis de Santangel had been a party to this solicitation and had favoured the project. This man, a Jew, was Treasurer of Supplies for Aragon, and very close in his relations to both King and Queen. History records that Queen Isabella offered Luis de Santangel to pledge in advance her jewels² to secure the sum required for the expedition, but history also records the fact that this sacrifice was never made, and that Luis de Santangel replied that since the Queen had done him the honour to accept the project through his solicitation, having refused it to

¹ The last sound Columbus heard as he was preparing to sail from the Old World was the wailing of the Jews, as on August 2, 1492, the day set apart for mourning over the twofold destruction of Jerusalem, the ninth of the Jewish Ab, they began their exodus, an army of 300,000, from out of the land of Spain.

As the reader knows, there exists no authentic enumeration of the Jews in Spain. So far as we know, there has been no attempt to search the records of Barcelona, Tarragona, Valencia, and Cartagena on the Mediterranean coast, Laredo in the Bay of Biscay, and the port of Cadiz, whence so many families took their departure, or of the cities on the route to Portugal, and until that is done we can only follow modern writers who have not done much more than guessed at the number. The Curate of Los Palacios estimated the unbaptised Jewish families leaving Spain to have been some 36,000. Some writers have estimated that at the time of the edict compelling their exile, the Jews in Spain numbered 800,000 souls.

On the first voyage Columbus took with him two Spanish Jews,—Rodrigo de Jerez and a converted Jew who had lived with the Adelantado of Murcia, by the name of Luis de Torres. This latter had been chosen because he understood Hebrew, and the Chaldean and Arabic tongues, Columbus expecting that when they arrived at the Court of the Great Khan he could employ his services in establishing communication. When they arrived off the north coast of *Juana* (the island of Cuba), the Admiral sent these two men with two interpreters on land to discover if there was a king with whom they could converse.

² In the Cathedral at Granada the traveller is shown a costly jewel box, which is said to have contained the precious gems pledged by Queen Isabella as security for the sum advanced by her for the expedition.

We do not remember if the Cathedral at Valencia has a similar coffer, but the legend is that the jewels of the Queen were pledged to certain money-lenders of that last-named city, not for the expedition under Columbus, but as early as 1489 for the prosecution of the war against the Moors. It was said that the crown and coffer of pearls and jewels was worth some 60,000 florins.—Duro, *Las Joyas de Isabel la Católica* (Madrid, 1882).

others, he himself would gladly lend her the sum her Highness required.¹

We may assume, then, that there was furnished for Queen Isabella and the Crown of Castile, through Luis de Santangel in his capacity of treasurer of the Sancta Hermandad, a sum of money which *with the interest* amounted to 1,140,000 maravedis. A certain Aragonese historian, B. L. de Argensola,² declared that he had found in the archives of the Treasury of Aragon documents which proved that it was the kingdom of Aragon which furnished this money, and that it was at the express order of King Ferdinand that the generous and helpful aid was extended Columbus.

"En el mes de Abril MCCCCLXXXII estando los Reyes Católicos en la villa de Santa Fé, cerca de Granada, capitularon con Don Christóval Colón para el primer viaje . . . y para el gasto de la armada prestó Luis de Santangel, Escrivano de Raciones de Aragon, diez y siete mil florines."

"In the month of April, 1492, the Catholic Sovereigns being in the city of Santa Fé, before Granada, they made a capitulation with Don Christopher Columbus for the first voyage . . . and for the equipment of the fleet, Luis de Santangel, Treasurer of Supplies of Aragon, loaned seventeen thousand florins."

Juan de Mariana, whose *General History of Spain*, like the *History of the World* by Spain's great enemy, Sir Walter Raleigh, was composed during confinement in prison,—a seclusion

¹ "Alle quai parole la Catolica Reina, conoscendo il buon desiderio del Santo Angelo, rispose, ringratiandolo del suo buon configlio, & dicensi, ch'era contenta di accettarlo con patto, che si differisse la esecuzione, fin che respirasse alquanto da' traugli di quelle guerre. Et, quando pure anco altro a lui pareffe, contentaua, che sopra le gioie della sua camera si cercasse prestito della quantità de' denari, necessaria per far detta armata. Ma Santo Angelo, veduto il fauore, fattogli dalla Reina in accettare per suo configlio quel, che per configlio di ogni altro hauea rifiutato, rispose, che non facea mistero d'impegnar le gioie, percioche egli farebbe lieue seruitio à sua Altezza imprestandole i suoi denari."—*Historie*, p. 37.

"To which words the Catholic Queen, recognising the good intentions of St. Angel, replied, thanking him for his good advice, and saying that she was pleased to accept it with the agreement that the execution of the project should be deferred until she had breathed a little after the labours of those wars. And, moreover, even though another war should appear before her, she was pleased that the quantity of money necessary to fit out that fleet should be borrowed upon the jewels of her Treasury. But St. Angel, having perceived the favour done to him by the Queen in accepting through his counsel what she had refused to the counsels of all others, replied that it was not necessary to pledge the jewels, since he would gladly serve her Highness by lending her his own money."

² *Primera Parte de los Anales de Aragon*, Saragossa, 1630, vol. i., p. 100.

more conducive to philosophical inquiry than historical accuracy,
—says of the voyage of discovery:

It is wonderful that so great an undertaking was begun with only 17,000 ducats, which the King was forced to borrow, his revenue was so far exhausted.

Harrisse, M. Manuel de Bofarull, and others have diligently sought these original Aragonese Treasury documents, but in vain. Their alleged purport, however, is not in accord with the original historical documents which *do* exist. The records do not show that the Crown of Aragon ever contributed a maravedi toward defraying the costs of the expedition. On the contrary, the records show that the enterprise was undertaken solely for the Crown of Castile. Seventeen thousand ducats would be equivalent to 6,375,000 maravedis. The florin of Genoa and of Florence was about equal in weight to the golden ducat of Spain. If the whole cost was 6,375,000 maravedis, Columbus would have been obliged to furnish, as his eighth, 796,875 maravedis. This is a very much larger sum than Las Casas alleges Columbus contributed, and is improbable.

The account at this stage of our inquiry, and depending on incomplete documentary evidence, would appear to stand thus:

Advanced the enterprise by the Crown of Castile.	1,140,000	maravedis
Advanced the enterprise by Christopher Columbus. . . .	500,000	"
<hr/>		
Total.	1,640,000	"

The little port of Palos had rendered itself liable to punishment for some disobedience or failure to comply with the will of the Government, and the sentence of keeping two vessels in readiness to serve the Sovereigns for twelve months at the expense of the town had been passed by the Royal Council. Two ships were to be provided at the expense of the town, but the cost and maintenance of those who went in them were chargeable to the Crown. The following orders, disclosing at first an inattention and then a willingness, will explain the relationship of the town of Palos to the enterprise:

"D. Fernando é Doña Isabel, por la gracia de Dios, Rey é Reina de Castilla, de Leon, de Aragon, de Secilia, de Granada, de Toledo, de Valencia, de Galicia, de Mallorcas, de Sevilla, de Cerdeña, de Córdoba, de Córcega, de

Murcia, de Jaen, de los Algarbes, de Algecira, de Gibraltar, é de las Islas de Canaria: Condes de Barcelona; Señores de Vizcaya, é de Molina; Duques de Atenas, é de Neopatria; Condes de Rosellon, é de Cerdania; Marqueses de Oristan, é de Gociano. A vos Diego Rodriguez Prieto, é á todas las otras personas, vuestros compañeros é otros vecinos de la Villa de Palos, é á cada uno de vos, salud é gracia. Bien sabedes como por algunas cosas fechas é cometidas por vosotros en deservicio nuestro, por los del nuestro Consejo, fuisteis condenados á que fusédes obligados á Nos servir doce meses con dos carabelas armadas á vuestras propias costas é espensas, cada é quando, é do quier que por Nos os fuese mandado, so ciertas penas, segund que todos mas largamente en la dicha sentencia que contra vosotros fue dada se contiene; e agora por quanto Nos habemos mandado a Cristóbal Colon que vaya con tres carabelas de armada, como nuestro Capitan de las dichas tres carabelas, para ciertas partes de la mar Océano, sobre algunas cosas que cumplen á nuestro servicio; é Nos queremos que lleve consigo las dichas dos carabelas, con que así nos habeis de servir: por ende Nos vos mandamos, que del dia que con esta nuestra Carta fuerédes requeridos fasta diez dias primeros siguientes, sin nos mas requerir ni consultar, ni esperar, ni haber otra nuestra Carta sobre ello, tengais adrezadas é puestas á punto las dichas dos carabelas armadas, como sois obligados, por virtud de la dicha sentencia para partir con el dicho Cristóbal Colon donde Nos le mandamos ir, é partireis con él del dicho termino en adelante cada é quando por él vos fuere dicho é mandado de nuestra parte, que Nos le mandamos que vos pague luego sueldo por quatro meses para la gente que fuere con las dichas carabelas al precio que pagaren á las otras gentes que fueren en las dichas tres carabelas, é en la otra carabela que Nos le mandamos llevar, que es el que comunmente se acostumbra pagar en esta costa á la gente que va de armada por la mar; é así partidos sigais la via donde él de nuestra parte vos mandare, é cumplades sus mandamientos, é vades á su mando é gobernacion, con tanto que vos, ni el dicho Cristóbal Colon, ni otros algunos de los que fueren en las dichas carabelas, no vayan á la Mina, ni al trato de ella que tiene el Serenísimo Rey de Portugal, nuestro Hermano, porque nuestra voluntad es de guardar é que se guarde lo que con el dicho Rey de Portugal, sobre esto tenemos asentado é capitulado, é trayendo vosotros fee firmada del dicho Capitan de como es contento de vuestro servicio con las dichas dos carabelas armadas, vos habemos por relevados de la dicha pena, que por los del nuestro Consejo, vos fue puesta; é desde agora para entonces, é de entonces para agora nos damos é tenemos por bien servidos de vosotros con las dichas carabelas, por el tiempo é segund é como por los del dicho nuestro Consejo vos fue mandado, con apercibimiento, que vos facemos, que si lo así no ficiéredes, ó en ella escusa ó dilacion pusiéredes, mandaremos ejecutar en vosotros é en cada uno de vos, é en vuestros bienes, las penas contenidas en la dicha sentencia que contra vosotros fue dada. E los unos ni los otros no fagades ende al por alguna manera, so pena de la nuestra merced, é de cada diez mil maravedis para la nuestra Cámara, so la cual dicha pena mandamos á cualquier Escribano público, que para esto fuere llamado, que de

Christopher Columbus

ende al que vos la mostrare testimonio signado, porque Nos sepamos como se cumple nuestro mandado. Dada en la nuestra Cibdad de Granada á treinta dias de Abril, año del Nacimiento de nuestro Senor Jesucristo de mil quatrocientos noventa y dos anos. *Yo el Rey. Yo la Reina.* (Está firmado.) Yo Joan de Coloma, Secretario del Rey é de la Reina nuestros Señores, la fice escrebir por su mandado. (Está firmado.) [En las espaldas esta sellado con cera colorado en papel, y tiene las notas siguientes: Acorrada. Rodericus Doctor. (Está firmado.) Registrada. Sebastian de Olano. (Está firmado.) Francisco de Madrid, Chanciller. (Está firmado.) Derechos nihil. (Está rubricado.)]

"En Miercoles veinte é tres de Mayo, año del Nacimiento de nuestro Salvador Jesucristo de mil é quatrocientos é noventa é dos años, estando en la Iglesia de S. Jorge desta Villa de Palos, estando ende presentes Fr. Juan Peres é Cristóbal Colon, é asimismo estando ente presentes Alvaro Alonso Cosio é Diego Rodriguez Prieto, Alcaldes mayores, é Francisco Negrete y Alonso Rodriguez Prieto y Alonso Gutierrez, Regidores; luego el dicho Cristóbal Colon dió é presentó á los sobre dichos esta Carta de sus Altesas, la cual fue leida por mi Francisco Fernandes, Escribano público desta dicha Villa á los dichos Alcaldes é Regidores, é les pidió la cumplan segund sus Altesas lo mandan, y pidiólo por testimonio. E luego los dichos Alcaldes é Regidores dijeron que obedecian la dicha Carta con la reverencia debida, como Carta de sus Altesas, é que estan prestos de la cumplir en todo y por todo, segund sus Altesas lo mandan, de que fueron testigos Lorenzo de Escarrana, Alcaide, é Garcia Fernandez Carnero, é Fernando del Salto, Procurador del Concejo, vesinos de esta Villa de Palos. Francisco Fernandes, Escribano público de Palos. Está firmado."

"Don Ferdinand and Doña Isabella, by the grace of God, King and Queen of Castile, of Leon, of Aragon, of Sicily, of Granada, of Toledo, of Valencia, of Galicia, of the Mallorcas, of Seville, of Cerdeña, of Cordova, of Corcega, of Murcia, of Jaen, of Algarbia, of Algecira, of Gibraltar, of the Canary Islands: Counts of Barcelona; Lords of Vizcaya and of Molina; Dukes of Athens and of Neopatria; Counts of Rosellon and of Cerdania; Marquises of Oristan and of Gociano.

"To you Diego Rodriguez Prieto [Alcalde],¹ and to all the other persons, your companions and the other residents of the town of Palos, salutation and grace. You well know how on account of some things done and committed by you in default of our service, you were condemned by the members of our Council, that you should be obliged to serve us for twelve months with two caravels, equipped at your own cost and expense, whenever and wherever it should be commanded by us, under certain penalties, which is all contained more at length in the said sentence which was pronounced against you: And now, inasmuch as we have ordered Christopher Columbus to go with a fleet of three caravels, as our Captain of the said three caravels,

¹ It is a curious coincidence, even if arranged, that on October 12, 1892, on the occasion of the ceremonies attending the celebration at Palos of the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of the New World, the cablegram of congratulation sent to the President of the United States was signed by another *Prieto, Alcalde of Palos.*

through certain parts of the Ocean-sea, upon some matters which are in fulfilment of our service: and we wish to have him take with him the said two caravels, with which you are to serve us in this manner: Therefore we command you that within the first ten days following the date of this our letter, by which you are notified, without further asking us or consulting us or awaiting us or receiving another letter from us in regard to the matter, that you shall have the said two caravels prepared and placed in readiness, equipped, as you are under obligation to do in virtue of the said sentence, to go with the said Christopher Columbus wherever we order him to go, and you shall go with him from the said length of time henceforward, whenever and wherever you shall be told and commanded by him in our behalf, because we command him to then pay you wages for four months for the people who shall go with the said caravels, at the prices which shall be paid to the other people who shall go in the said three caravels, and in the other caravel which we command him to take, *which is what is commonly paid on this coast to people who go upon the sea with fleets of vessels*. And having thus departed, that you follow the way which he shall command you to take, in our behalf, and fulfil his commands, and go under his command and government, providing that neither you, nor the said Christopher Columbus, nor any others of the persons who shall go on the said caravels, shall go to the Mine nor interfere with the traffic of the Mine which is carried on by the Most Serene King of Portugal our Brother, because it is our will to observe and to have observed what we have agreed and capitulated with the said King of Portugal in regard to this matter: and upon being shown a signed declaration from the said Captain that he is satisfied with your service with the said two equipped caravels, we shall consider you as relieved from the said penalty which was imposed upon you by the members of our Council: and from the present for that time, and from that time for the present time, we consider and hold that we are well served by you with the said caravels, for the time and according to and in the manner which was commanded you by the members of our Council, with the warning which we give you, that if you do not do as we have commanded you or make any delay or excuse in the matter, that we shall order executed upon you and upon each one of you, and upon your property, the penalties contained in the said sentence which was pronounced against you. And none of you shall disobey it in any manner, under pain of our displeasure and a fine of 10,000 maravedis for each one of our Treasury, under which said penalty we command the Notary Public who is called in this matter, that in another manner which he shall show you, you shall give a signed deposition. Given in our city of Granada April 30, in the year of the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ 1492. *I the King. I the Queen.* (Signed.) I Joan de Coloma, Secretary of the King and of the Queen, our Lords, caused it to be written by their command. (Signed.) [On the back it is sealed with red wax on paper, and has the following notes: Agreed. Rodericus Doctor. (Signed.) Registered. Sebastian de Olano. (Signed.) Francisco de Madrid, Chancellor. (Signed.) Fees Nihil. (Signed.)]"

"Wednesday, May 23, the year of the birth of our Saviour Jesus Christ 1492, being in the church of St. George of this town of Palos, being there present Friar Juan Peres and Christopher Columbus, and also being there present Alvaro Alonso Cosio and Diego Rodriguez Prieto, Alcaldes mayores, and Francisco Negrete and Alonso Rodriguez Prieto and Alonso Gutierrez, Registers; then the said Christopher Columbus gave and presented to the aforesaid this Letter from their Highnesses, which was read by me, Francisco Fernandes, Notary Public of this said Town, to the said Alcaldes and Registers, and he begged them to comply with it according as their Highnesses command, and his request was witnessed. And then the said Alcaldes and Registers said that they would obey the said Letter with due reverence as a Letter from their Highnesses, and that they are ready to fulfil it in every respect and by every respect, according as their Highnesses command, of which Lorenzo de Escarrana, Alcalde, and Garcia Fernandez Carnero and Fernando del Salto, Procurer of the Council, citizens of this town of Palos, were witnesses. Francisco Fernandes, Notary Public of Palos. (Signed.)"

In a second warrant issued by the Sovereigns April 30, 1492, provision was made for suspending the operation of sentences or punishment of criminals who might go on the voyage with Columbus.¹ It is likely that some such delinquents took advantage of this clemency and sailed away with the expedition, but this is an inference and not a known fact.

The three ships² selected for this expedition were one large

"E por la presente damos seguro á todas é cualesquier personas que fueren en las dichas carabelas con el dicho Cristóbal Colon, en el dicho viage que hace por nuestro mandado á la parte del dicho mar Océano, como dicho es, para que no les sea fecho mal ni daño, ni desguisado alguno en sus personas ni bienes; ni en cosa alguna de lo suyo por razon de ningun delito que hayan fecho ni cometido fasta el día de la fecha desta nuestra carta, é durante el tiempo que fueren é estovieren alla con la venida á sus casas, é dos meses despues. Porque vos mandamos á todos, é á cada uno de vos en vuestros logares, é juridiciones, que no conoscais de ninguna cabsa criminal, tocante á las personas que fueren con el dicho Cristóbal Colon en las dichas tres carabelas, durante el tiempo susodicho; porque nuestra merced é voluntad es que todo ello esté así suspendido."

"And by these presents we grant security to all and any persons who shall go in the said caravels with the said Christopher Columbus, on the said voyage which he is making by our command in the said Ocean-Sea, as has been expressed, in order that no evil or damage may be done them, nor any disturbance in their persons or property; nor in anything of theirs by reason of any crime they may have done or committed, from the day of the date of this, our letter, and during the time that they shall go and shall remain yonder, with the return to their houses, and two months afterward. For this reason we command you all, and each one of you in your place and jurisdictions, not to recognise any criminal cause relating to the persons who shall go with the said Christopher Columbus in the said three caravels, during the aforesaid time: because our will and pleasure is that all those matters be in this manner suspended.

² At the time of the World's Columbian Exposition, held in the city of Chicago, to commemorate the four hundredth anniversary of the Columbian discovery, an at-

vessel with a covered deck and two smaller merchant vessels called caravels. The large vessel was the flagship of Columbus, and was named the *Santa Maria*, or *Marigolante*. It belonged to Juan de la Cosa of Santoña, who commanded it, and the pilot was Sancho Ruiz. This vessel was not large even for those days, when there were specimens of one thousand and twelve hundred tons burden. Probably the dimensions generally assigned this vessel, ninety feet in length by twenty feet in width, are correct, but there is no authentic description of the *Santa Maria* which would enable us to establish its exact size. The next largest ship was called the *Pinta*, and was the swiftest of the three vessels. She belonged to Gomes Rascon and Cristobal Quintero, who were of her crew. Her commander was Martin Alonzo Pinzón, and a younger brother, Francesco Martinez Pinzón, was master. The third vessel was the *Niña*, and her captain, Vincente Yañez Pinzón, was destined to bring to his family the greatest glory. On this little vessel also, acting as pilot, was another person destined first to touch the real riches of the New World, Pedro Alonzo Niño.

Las Casas said of the number of souls on board:

"La gente que se allegó y metió en ellas, con marineros y hombres de tierra . . . fueron por todos noventa hombres."

"The people that assembled and took part in this expedition, both sailors and landsmen, were in all ninety men."

tempt was made to reproduce these three vessels. At the suggestion of Mr. W. E. Curtis, of Washington, to whose indefatigable labours the expedition owed not only the reproduction of *La Rabida*, but many other interesting and instructive features, the Secretary of the Navy directed an officer to go to Madrid and solicit the interest of the Spanish Government in constructing as nearly as possible duplicates of the three vessels composing the immortal fleet. Accordingly, a joint board of naval architects and archaeologists prepared plans for the construction of each boat. The three ships were built in time to take part in the ceremony at Huelva, Spain, on October 12, 1892. On February 6, 1893, the new *Santa Maria* started from Cadiz, under command of Captain Concas, and thirteen days later, escorted by the flagship *Newark* and the man-of-war *Bennington* of the United States Navy, the two other vessels, the *Pinta* and the *Niña*, left the shores of the Old World, and arrived safely at Havana, whence they were towed successfully by Spanish men-of-war to Hampton Roads. The *Santa Maria*, as reproduced, was of about 120 tons burden, some 63 feet over all, 51 feet keel, with a draught of 10½ feet. Jal, in the *Archéologie Navale*, has given this vessel large dimensions, making her 91 feet long by 26½ feet broad, proportions not conducive to swift sailing. The *Santa Maria* is generally regarded more from the statement of Peter Martyr, who speaks as if he had seen the boat, than from any other authority, as the only vessel having a deck. She had three masts, square sails on the fore and main masts, and a lateen sail aft. At both bow and stern she had castles. The *Pinta* was estimated at 50 tons, and the *Niña*, the smallest of the three, at 40 tons.

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Oviedo says there were 120 men, and some writers have assumed that there were 90 men on each ship, making 270 in all. The number given by Las Casas, who had the original *Journal* of Columbus before him as he wrote, is doubtless correct, and this is the number given by Ferdinand Columbus in the *Historic*.

Those who went out in the *Santa Maria*, and returned in the *Niña*:

Christopher Columbus, captain-general.

Juan de la Cosa, of Santoña, master, and owner of the vessel.

Sancho Ruiz, pilot.

Maestre Alonso, of Moguer, physician.

Maestre Diego, boatswain (contramaestre).

Rodrigo Sanchez, of Segovia, inspector (veedor).

Terreros, steward (maestresala).

Rodrigo de Jerez, of Ayamonte.

Ruiz Garcia, of Santoña.

Rodrigo de Escobar.

Francisco de Huelva, of Huelva.

Rui Fernandez, of Huelva.

Pedro de Bilboa, or de Larrabezua.

Pedro de Villa, of Santoña.

Diego de Salcedo, servant of Columbus.

Pedro de Acevedo, cabin boy.

Luis de Torres, converted Jew, interpreter.

Those who went and returned in the *Pinta*:

Martin Alonzo Pinzón, of Palos, captain.

Francisco Martin Pinzón, of Palos, master.

Cristóbal Garcia Xalmiento, pilot.

Juan de Jerez, of Palos, mariner.

Bartolomé Garcia, of Palos, boatswain.

Juan Perez Vizcaino, of Palos, caulker.

Rodrigo de Triano, of Lepe.

Juan Rodriguez Bermejo, of Molinos.

Juan de Sevilla.

Garcia Hernández, of Palos, steward (dispensero).

Garcia Alonso, of Palos.

Gomez Rascon, of Palos, }
Cristóbal Quintero, of Palos. } owners of the vessel.

Juan Quintero, of Palos.
 Diego Bermudez, of Palos.
 Juan Bermudez, of Palos.
 Francisco Garcia Gallego, of Moguer.
 Francisco Garcia Vallejo, of Moguer.
 Pedro de Arcos, of Palos.

Those who went and returned in the *Niña*:

Vincente Yañez Pinzón, of Palos, captain.
 Juan Niño, of Moguer, master.
 Pero Alonso Niño, of Moguer, pilot.
 Bartolomé Roldan, of Palos, pilot.
 Francisco Niño, of Moguer.
 Gutierrez Perez, of Palos.
 Juan Ortiz, of Palos.
 Alonso Gutierrez Querido, of Palos.

Those who¹ were left in Española and perished, most of them, if not all, murdered by the natives:

Diego de Arana, governor.
 Pedro Gutierrez, lieutenant.
 Rodrigo de Escobedo, lieutenant.
 Alonso Velez de Mendoza, of Seville.
 Alvar Perez Osorio, of Castrojeriz.
 Antonio de Jaen, of Jaen.
 El Bachiller Bernardino de Tapia, native of Ledesma.
 Cristóbal del Alamo, native of Condado (de Niebla).
 Castillo, platero, native of Seville.
 Diego Garcia, of Jerez.
 Diego de Tordoya, of Cabeza de Vaca.
 Diego de Capilla, of Almaden.
 Diego de Torpa.
 Diego de Mambles, native of Mambles.
 Diego de Mendoza, of Guadalajara.
 Diego de Montalban, of Jaen.
 Domingo de Berneo.
 Francisco Fernandez.

¹ "Muñoz has already noted in his copy that the lists vary in the number: some say that 37 persons remained in Española, others 38, and Muñoz himself in his history [Book III., 38] writes that there were 39. Forty are shown by this list, without counting Diego de Arana, who remained for Governor, or his Lieutenants, Pedro Gutierrez and Rodrigo de Escobedo."—Navarrete, vol. ii., p. 19.

Francisco de Godoy, native of Seville.
Francisco de Vergara, native of Seville.
Francisco de Aranda, of Aranda.
Francisco de Henao, of Avila.
Francisco Jimenez, of Seville.
Gabriel Baraona, of Belmonte.
Gonzalo Fernandez de Segovia, of Leon.
Gonzalo Fernandez, of Segovia.
Guillermo Ires, native of Galway, in Ireland.
Hernando de Porcuna.
Jorge Gonzales, native of Trigueros.
Juan de Urniga.
Juan Morcillo, of Villanueva de la Serena.
Juan de Cueva, of Castuera.
Juan Patiño, of La Serena.
Juan del Barco, of Barco de Avila.
Juan de Villar, of Villar.
Juan de Mendoza.
Martin de Lograsan, near Guadalupe.
Pedro Cabacho, of Caceres.
Pedro de Talavera.
Pedro de Foronda.
Sebastian de Mayorga, native of Mayorga.
Tallarte de Lajes, of England.
Tristan de San Jorge.

Thus we make the total number sailing on this expedition to consist of eighty-seven men, and the number left in the Fortress of La Navidad at Española and destroyed by the Indians, forty-three men. Of those who returned to Spain there were several whom we shall meet again in the course of the narrative. Some have identified the Irishman as William Harris of Galway, and the Englishman as Arthur Laws, or Larkins.

We must, then, add a third contributor, the municipality of Palos, which, not as a free-will offering, not as a partner in the great enterprise, but as a penalty of some municipal sin, was working out its punishment by furnishing two ships. These were the *Pinta*, the title to which seems to have resided in Gomez Rascon and Cristobal Quintero, both citizens of Palos, and the *Niña*, the smallest ship of the little fleet, belonging,

perhaps, to her captain, Vincente Yañez Pinzón. However this may be, the element of rent (*flete*) is not to be reckoned for these two vessels. Nor are we to credit the town of Palos or the owners of the vessels with a share in the adventure. The Crown paid out money for the use of the *Santa María* but not a maravedi for the *Pinta* and *Niña*. So far as we know from the records and from the statement of Las Casas, the Crown and Columbus were the only two contributors of actual money and their united contributions would *at first sight* appear to have been only 1,640,000 maravedis. If the total was 1,640,000 maravedis, one eighth would have been 205,000 maravedis. If the one eighth part contributed by Columbus was 500,000, the total would have been 4,000,000 maravedis. We shall show that probably neither of these sums was correct.

The reader will find in the important letter written September 5, 1493, by the Sovereigns to Don Juan de Fonseca, and inserted further on in our Work, a reference to the equipment of a fleet of vessels employed to return the Moorish Chieftain Muley Boabdil, the last King of Granada, and his followers from the coast of Granada to the coast of Africa. This fleet had been formed at Bermeo, in the Bay of Biscay, and in the summer of 1493 found itself at Cadiz. It had been destined by the Sovereigns to convey Columbus and his retinue back to Española, but in the first week of September the Sovereigns ordered it on this service to Africa. We have a detailed description of this fleet, of the equipment, and of the cost. The existence in the archives of the Indies of this statement of account leads us to hope that there may yet be found documents disclosing the actual expenses of the voyage of discovery. This fleet consisted of six ships. There was an immense vessel called a *caraca de porte* of 1250 tons burden, four others, the largest of 450 tons and the smallest of 150 tons, and one caravel. Inigo de Artieta was Captain-General of the ships. From a document dated July, 1493, we have the salaries paid the officers, the wages paid the sailors and the soldiers, the cost of maintenance per diem for each man, and the rate of rent per month paid by the Government for each vessel, computed on its tonnage. From these papers we are enabled to present a table of the probable expense of equipping the little fleet of three ships which first crossed the Atlantic and found a New World.

Admiral ¹	Christopher Columbus, . . . on <i>Santa Maria</i> .	30,000 mrs. per year.	2,500 mrs. per month for 8 months.	20,000 maravedis
Captain ²	Martin Alonso Pinzon, . . . on <i>Pinta</i>	30,000	"	"
Captain.....	Vicente Yañez Pinzon, . . . on <i>Niña</i>	30,000	"	"
Master ³	Juan de la Cosa, . . . on <i>Santa Maria</i>	20,000	"	"
Master.....	Francisco Martin Pinzon, on <i>Pinta</i>	20,000	"	"
Pilot.....	Juan Niño, . . . on <i>Niña</i>	20,000	"	"
Pilot.....	Sanchez Ruiz, . . . on <i>Santa Maria</i>	20,000	"	"
Pilot.....	Cristobal Garcia Xalmito, . . . on <i>Pinta</i>	20,000	"	"
Pilot.....	Pedro Alonso Niño, . . . on <i>Niña</i>	20,000	"	"
Pilot.....	Bartolomé Roldán, . . . on <i>Niña</i>	20,000	"	"
Alguazil mayor.....	Diego de Arana, ⁴ . . .	30,000	"	"
Lawyer.....	Bernardino de Tapia of Ledesma, ⁵ . . .	24,000	"	"
Physician.....	Maestre Alonso ⁶ , . . .	24,000	"	"
Assist.....	Castille, . . .	12,000	"	"
Officer of the Royal Household.....	Pedro Gutierrez, . . .	13,000	"	"
Inspector.....	Rodrigo Sanchez, . . .	13,000	"	"
Interpreter.....	Rodrigo de Escobedo, . . .	12,000	"	"
Steward.....	Luis de Torres, . . .	10,000	"	"
Steward.....	Terreros, . . .	9,000	"	"
Boatswain.....	Garcia Hernandez, . . .	9,000	"	"
Boatswain.....	Maestre Diego, . . .	9,000	"	"
Caulker.....	Bartolomé Garcia, . . .	9,000	"	"
Barber.....	Juan Perez Viscaino, . . .	9,000	"	"
	Maestre Juan ⁷ , . . .	9,000	"	"
<hr/>				
Salary List.....				
Wages ⁸				
Maintenance ⁹				
Rent (Flete) <i>Santa Maria</i> ¹⁰				
Furniture, arms, powder, trading supplies.....				
<hr/>				
Actual total cash expense.....				
<hr/>				
<hr/>				
<hr/>				
The Crown of Castile contributed.....				
Christopher Columbus.....				
Total Cash Contributions.....				
<hr/>				
Cash equipment of the fleet.....				
Palos furnished the <i>Pinta</i> , 80 tons, estimated at 120 maravedis				
per month, per ton.....				
Palos furnished the <i>Niña</i> , 40 tons, estimated at 120 maravedis				
per month, per ton.....				
<hr/>				
Total cost of equipment of fleet.....				
<hr/>				
Commercial interest represented by Castile in the enterprise, being $\frac{1}{3}$ of the whole.....				
<hr/>				
Total commercial interest represented in fleet.....				
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¹ For footnotes 1-10, see next page.

(FOOTNOTES COVERING PAGE 474)

¹ We allow Columbus no salary. He was a partner in the enterprise and received his pay in his thirds and eighths and tenths.

² By the document dated in the month of July, 1493, and preserved in the archives of the Indies, we ascertain that the amount of wages paid each of several captains of ships in the fleet going to Africa was 30,000 maravedis per year, while one captain received wages at the rate of 20,000 maravedis per year.

³ To the masters, who acted as mates, and the pilots, we have given the same rate of wages, 20,000 maravedis per year, the amount set opposite the name of the lowest paid captain of the African fleet.

⁴ We have allowed a comparatively large recompense to Diego de Arana, and while he never lived to collect it, we do not doubt it was paid his family at home.

⁵ The rate allowed the lawyer, 24,000 maravedis per year, is based upon the pension granted Gil Garcia, the lawyer who accompanied the Admiral on the second voyage, when all looked prosperous. This was 20,000 maravedis in addition to his fixed salary. This Garcia was serving not only as a lawyer, but as Alcalde Mayor, and it is not likely that Bernardinus de Tapia received at the rate of more than 24,000 maravedis per year.

⁶ We have given the physician in our calculations the same rate of pay as the lawyer. It must be understood that there was in those days a wide difference between a physician and a surgeon.

⁷ Maestre Juan was the *Cirujano*, or surgeon of the little fleet. At that time a surgeon and a barber were one and the same. In the preparation of the African fleet it was provided that the *cirujano*, or surgeon, should receive at the rate of 9000 maravedis per year.

⁸ The rate of wages paid to sailors has been fixed thus:

In the letter of the Sovereigns to the Alcalde of Palos, they say:

We command him [Columbus] to then pay you wages for four months for the people who shall go with the said caravels, at the prices which shall be paid to the other people who shall go in the said three caravels, and in the other caravel which we command him to take, which is what is commonly paid on this coast to people who go upon the sea with fleets of vessels.

Notwithstanding the peculiar character of the expedition, the rate of wages was to be the prevailing rate on the Spanish coast. We ascertain that rate by referring to the document of July, 1493, giving the expenses of the fleet to Africa, and which was then fitting out at Cadiz, on the Spanish coast.

" . . . pagando la soldada é acostamiento de la gente á razon de los Marineros á seis mil por año é los hombres dármas á cinco mil. . . ."

" . . . to pay the usual wages fixed for persons who are sailors at the rate of six thousand [maravedis] per year, and the soldiers at the rate of five thousand . . ."

We have authority then for this rate of wages paid to sailors.

⁹ The fleet which went to Africa was provided with a supply of food reckoned at the rate of 360 maravedis per month for each man. We have taken this figure only for the common sailors and have doubled it for the twenty-four persons designated above.

¹⁰ It was the custom to estimate the rental of a ship by its capacity below decks. The *Santa Maria* is believed to have been a vessel of 120 tons burden. The rate of rental prevailing in Spain at that time was 120 maravedis per ton per month. Although she, like the men left at La Navidad, never again saw the shores of Spain, the calculation of her rental would be the same. We allow her rental for one year, although had she returned to Spain the time of her service would not have been more than nine months.

In our calculations we call the *Pinta* a ship of 80 tons, although some writers are of the opinion that she did not exceed 50 tons. Her well-known speed indicates greater canvas, and that in turn larger displacement, than the *Niña*, and a difference of ten tons would scarcely allow for this.

The reader will observe that we have reckoned in the above estimate the rental of the two ships *Pinta* and *Niña*. They were furnished by the town of Palos as a penalty for some municipal sin, but this penalty was paid to the Crown of Castile. The Crown of Castile contributed these two ships, and it mattered not to the stockholders of the enterprise whether Castile paid 172,800 maravedis for the ships or not. They were worth that to the undertaking and they must be turned in at that rate to arrive at the portion which Columbus was required to pay. In other words, the rental value of the two Palos ships must be included in the seven eighths contributed by Castile. Otherwise Columbus would be buying into a partnership where more than twelve per cent. would be shared by him without his having contributed anything towards its furnishing. In fixing the amount contributed by Columbus, therefore, we have included in the sum-total of the capital the cost of the Palos ships. But the actual cash expended remains the same, 1,000,000 maravedis by Castile and 167,542 maravedis by Christopher Columbus. The item of 155,062 maravedis estimated for arms and trading supplies seems to us ample. We will see that common hawks' bells brought large returns of gold in exchange and that pieces of broken glass and small brass pins were esteemed among the Indians the equivalent for nuggets of the yellow metal.

The difference between 1,000,000 maravedis here allowed as representing the cash expended by the Sovereigns and the 1,140,000 returned by the Treasurer, Luis de Santangel, to the *Hernandad* we regard as interest. While a sovereign doubtless could take money by force from a corporation or treasury and return it without usury, interest in those days was commonly paid by king and merchant. The money was furnished by Castile early in the year 1492 and seems to have been returned late in the year 1493. If we reckon interest on the loan at eight per cent. for one year and nine months, it would account for the full amount which appears to be returned to the Brotherhood of the Santa *Hernandad* by the Crown of Castile.

That this sum of 1,167,542 maravedis was not insufficient appears probable from another document, a Royal Cedula issued by the Sovereigns from Granada and dated February 4, 1501, in which we find the cost of fitting out three vessels. It seems

that the Genoese banker and friend of Columbus, Francisco di Ribero, with Johannes Sanchez had despatched without the Royal licence two ships from the port of San Lucar to make explorations or to trade in the New World. The Sovereigns were indignant when they learned of this and directed that three ships, a caravel and two small vessels, should be fitted out at a cost of 200,000 maravedis, including rent and equipment, to go in search of these two ships.¹ The searcher must be prepared

¹ There has been lately published at Madrid, by the Duchess of Berwick and of Alba, of the illustrious house which traces its line back to Christopher Columbus, a volume entitled *Nuevos Autografos de Cristóbal Colón y Relaciones de Ultramar*. Among the documents relating to the Discoverer is one which may play an important part in determining the cost of the memorable first voyage. The Duchess several years before had acquired by purchase a somewhat mutilated collection of manuscript documents placed together within parchment covers, upon the outer and upper cover of which occurs the well-known monogram of Christopher Columbus. The purchase, according to the statement of the Duchess herself, was shrouded in mystery. The book was bought of a lady, through the agency of another person, and at the suggestion of a friend of the Duchess, the Marquis de Pidal. This lady declined to give her residence, and only affirmed that the book had belonged to her deceased husband, Rocamora, and that she was ignorant of the source whence he had it. It would appear from the description given by the Duchess that the contents of this book constituted a series of documents, some holograph and some in a clerical hand, with a line or signature or sign manual, to indicate its possession by the Admiral. The most important document is a holograph drawing of the northern coast of La Navidad, which will appear in our chapter on "The Handwriting of Columbus." What now concerns us particularly in this collection is a document, incomplete, but which gives us a partial list of the people on the first voyage and the sums of money advanced them on account of their services. We give this document here. It will be noticed that the sums opposite the names of the officers and sailors differ materially from those given in our table, and which we have reached through necessarily uncertain calculation. Our calculation has been based on the rate of wages paid for similar services and the known cost of living at the time. Nevertheless, we do not feel justified in altering our figures, for the reason that the document distinctly affirms that the moneys paid the several persons on the expedition were not in full payment, but were "*over and above this which was advanced them before they went.*" It is reasonable to suppose that before leaving the shores of Spain each officer and seaman received some earnest money. In each instance the money paid the officers and men is less than the allowance in our reckoning, and the differences may well be the sums due each upon his return.

LIST OR REPORT

OF THE PEOPLE WHO WENT WITH CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS ON THE FIRST VOYAGE

Jhesus cum Maria sit nobis in via. [Autograph of Columbus.]

(Letter describing the manner in which His Lordship paid the people of Palos.)

[Not autograph of Columbus.]

13 + Jhesus. 1498, November xvi, in Santo Domingo, on the island of Española.

At the time when the King and the Queen, my Lords, which was in the year 1491, resolved that I should go to discover the Indies, I arranged with their Highnesses that

to go where the thing sought may be, and as the ships of Ribero! had gone to the New World, the three other ships were to be fitted out for a like long and perilous expedition. If 200,000

I should have the eighth part of all which should result from the fleet which I should have,—I contributing the eighth part of the expenses, as will appear more at length by the said contract; and in order that what I expended might appear, I resolved that it should be certified before a notary public in the village of Palos, where, by command of their Highnesses, I fitted out three vessels, a small ship and two caravels: and the account of the moneys which I gave and expended was drawn up before the aforesaid notary, who wrote with his hand all this contract and account of moneys.

Their Highnesses at the present time in this year 1498, when I was at their Royal Court, granted me the favour that I should not be obligated for the payment of the past expenditure up to the time of arriving here, which was in the said year 1498 on the 31st of August: nor yet for the expenses of the fleet which I brought over, as will appear by their Order which is with the others in Seville in the Monastery of Las Cuevas and the authorised copy of same which is here in a book with others.

Although their Highnesses may have granted me this favour and although this contract may have expired, let it be guarded very closely and let it be certified to by the same notary, first taking a copy of it here by means of a notary public who shall attest it, and let it be carried to Palos and afterwards placed with the other valuable contracts in Las Cuevas at Seville:

In case this contract should be lost, *there* is the list of the people who received the money from me, who will acknowledge it, and *there* is the account of the Lord Chief Auditors (accountants) who paid these people on the return from the Indies what was owing to them, besides this, which was advanced them before they went; and the remainder which they earned they received in Barcelona in May from their Highnesses.

As far as here the document is alleged to be the holograph of Columbus, and is found on the back of one of the leaves of the Report. The remainder of the document is in the hand of a clerk.

REPORT OF THE PEOPLE WHO WENT WITH COLUMBUS ON THE FIRST VOYAGE

In the village of Palos, Saturday, the twenty-third of June, the year of the Lord 1492: on this day aforesaid the Señor Christopher Columbus, Captain of their Highnesses the King and Queen, our Lords, made an account of the wages to be given to the sailors and ships' boys and people going in the said fleet, who are the following:

SAILORS

First, to Sancho Ruiz de Gama, pilot, twenty ducats.....	7,000 m.
Juan de Moguer, sailor, four thousand maravedis.....	4,000
Gil Perez, sailor, four thousand maravedis.....	4,000
Alvaro, nephew of Gil Perez, sailor, four thousand maravedis: the said Gil Perez went security for him, and the one for the other.....	4,000
Pero Sanches de Montilla, sailor, four thousand maravedis.....	4,000
Pero Arraes, sailor, four thousand maravedis,—Vincente Yañez received them for him.....	4,000
Juan Ruiz de la Peña, Biscayan, four thousand maravedis,—Vincente Yañez received them.....	4,000
Juan Arraes, son of Pero Arraes, four thousand maravedis,—Vincente Yañez received them.....	4,000
Juan Martinez de Açoque, citizen of Denia, four thousand maravedis. Vincente Yañez received them for him.....	4,000
Juan de la Plaça, citizen of this village, four thousand maravedis.....	4,000
Garcia Fernandes, sailor of Illana, four thousand maravedis.....	4,000
Juan Verde de Triana, four thousand maravedis, Martin Alonso Pinzón received them for him.....	4,000
Juan Romero, sailor from Pero Gonsales Ferrando, four thousand maravedis.....	4,000
Francisco Garcia Vallejos, citizen of Moguer, four thousand maravedis....	4,000
Bartolomé Bines, citizen of this village, four thousand maravedis.....	4,000
Juan de Medina, tailor, citizen of Palos, four thousand maravedis.....	4,000
Cristobal Garcia Sarmiento, pilot, eight thousand and thirty maravedis...	8,030

maravedis were sufficient to rent and equip three such vessels in the year 1501, 1,167,542 maravedis were ample to rent and equip one ship like the *Santa Maria* in the year 1492 and to arm

Juan Quintero, son of Argueta Arraes [?] eighteen ducats, six thousand seven hundred and fifty maravedis.	6,750 m
Juan Reynal, citizen of Huelva, twelve ducats, four thousand five hundred maravedis.	4,500
Bartolomé Roldan, citizen of Moguer, sailor, received from Alonso Lopez, citizen of Moguer, four thousand maravedis: he gave as security some houses which are in the said village, which are next to the property of Gonçalo Alonso Maldonado, and on the other side . . . the King	4,000
Martin Alonso received for Juan Veçano four thousand maravedis.	4,000
The said Martin Alonso Pinzón received further, for Anton Calabres, his servant, four thousand maravedis.	4,000
Sancho de Rama, citizen of this village of Palos, four thousand maravedis.	
Martin Alonso Pinzón, son-in-law (yr. ^o) [?] of Pedro de Ayllon, went security for him.	4,000

SHIPS' BOYS

Juan Arias, Portuguese, son of Lope Arias, citizen of Taurira, two thousand six hundred and sixty-six maravedis.	2,666
Alonso, servant of Juan Rodrigues of Guinea, son of Francisco Chocero, two thousand six hundred and sixty-six maravedis: the said Juan Rodrigues of Guinea answered for him.	2,666
Juan, servant of Juan Buen Año, two thousand six hundred and sixty-six. The said Juan Buen Año went security for him.	2,666
Pedro Tegero, two thousand six hundred and sixty six. Juan de Moguer was his security.	2,666
Fernando de Triana, two thousand six hundred and sixty-six maravedis. Vincente Yañez was his security.	2,666
Juan Quadrado, two thousand six hundred and sixty-six maravedis. Juan Guerrero, son of Argueta Ma . . . [?] was his security.	2,666

[A leaf missing].

Miguel de Soria, servant of Diego de Lepe, two thousand six hundred and sixty-six maravedis. The said Diego de Lepe, his master, was his security. Eight doblas were given to him.	2,920 [sic]
Rodrigo Gallego, servant of Gonzalo Fuego, two thousand six hundred and sixty-six maravedis. The said Martin, his master, was his security. Eight doblas were given to him.	2,920 [sic]
Bernal, servant of Alonso, sailor, from Juan de Mafra, eight doblas which are two thousand nine hundred and twenty maravedis. The said his master received them.	2,920
Alonso of Palos, eight doblas, two thousand six hundred and sixty-six maravedis. Martin Alonso Pinzón went security for him.	2,666
Andres de Yrueñes, seven ducats. Juan Reynal received them. He is to have two thousand six hundred and sixty-six maravedis.	2,666
Francisco Mendes, citizen of Huelva, two thousand six hundred and sixty-six maravedis.	2,666
Martin Alonso Pinzón received for Fernando Mendes two thousand six hundred and sixty-six maravedis.	2,666

[On a loose leaf, which has the corner, where the folio number is, torn]:

Diego de Arana, Alguacil of the fleet of their Highnesses, has received eight thousand maravedis.	8,000
Francisco Martin Pinzón, Master of the <i>Pinta</i> , has received eight thousand maravedis.	8,000
Martin Alonso Pinzón, Captain of the <i>Pinta</i> , received sixteen thousand maravedis.	16,000
	32,000 m.

Christopher Columbus

and furnish her and two other smaller vessels. We assume the cash cost of the expedition to have been:

Advanced the enterprise by the Crown of Castile . . .	1,000,000	maravedis
Advanced the enterprise by Christopher Columbus . . .	<u>167,542</u>	"
Total	1,167,542	"

CHAPTER LV

COST OF EQUIPMENT

WHILE it is perhaps easier to compute the relative values of ancient and modern weights than the relative values of volume and of lengths, the subject of comparing ancient and modern coins is full of difficulty. Given any particular coin in any country at the end of the fifteenth century and we will find its purchasing power differing almost from day to day. While fluctuations of values are common to all countries and to all times, the commercial activities following the inventions and discoveries at the passing of the Middle Ages caused sudden and frequent changes in the power of money, not merely its power to purchase the necessities of life, but its own availability as a medium of exchange of gold and silver and copper. These conditions and these results did not wait for gold and silver to come from the New World—they began and had their influences before Española or Mexico or Peru contributed to the mass of money metals. The same laws were governing then as now, for laws which are natural laws never change. Bad money will drive out good money. If the citizen holds in his hand two pieces of gold of equal size and stamped with the same effigy, one piece containing an alloy and the other pure, and if the State is willing to take either piece for the payment of a tax, the citizen will pay in that piece which has the alloy and will hide away the one which is pure. The utility of a piece of gold is not only that it can be exchanged for a large portion of food and for a large portion of labour or fuel or light, but that it can be exchanged for a number of pieces of some baser metal each of which can be exchanged for a smaller quantity of food or labour or fuel or light. We do not expect that a piece of gold

will always buy the same quantity of food or of other products of the field and machine, but we would like to see it as constantly as possible buy the same number of pieces of other money stamped from baser metals and employed for exchangeable purposes. This it will not invariably do, and it is this want of virtuous stability which makes our task of determining the relative value of coins so difficult. The Merchant of Venice would exchange his ducat on May 10, 1473, for 55½ pence of English money, and when he reached London three months later on August 11, 1473, that same ducat would have brought him only 50 pence. Then, as now, fortunes were made in the exchange of one metallic money for another.

It was the custom of Ferdinand Columbus to inscribe in his books when he bought them not only the time and place of purchase, not only the price paid, but the value of the ducat of gold in the common coin of the place or country in which he bought the book. In the year 1863 there was published at Madrid the results of an investigation by the late Bartolomé José Gallardo¹ into the condition of the Columbian Library collected by Ferdinand, and his memoranda disclose some interesting details as to the books, their prices, and, what is of interest to us in this inquiry, the relative value of the gold ducat with the various smaller coins of the countries in which the books were purchased. We do not think that Ferdinand Columbus in every instance made these purchases himself, as the times and places are not always consistent with his movements.

Sept. 28, 1520.	Rome.	The gold ducat was worth 420 quatrines.				
Oct. 7, 1520.	Rome.	"	"	"	"	420 "
Nov. 14, 1520.	Bologna.	"	"	"	"	456 "
Dec. 10, 1520.	Placentia.	"	"	"	"	430 "
Jan. 14, 1521.	Turin.	"	"	"	"	212 quartos. ²
Feb. 1521.	Milan.	"	"	"	"	490 quatrines.
March 2, 1521.	Milan.	"	"	"	"	440 quartos.
March 12, 1521.	Ferrara.	"	"	"	"	426 "
May 27, 1521.	Augsburg.	"	"	"	"	215 pfennigs.
June 17, 1521.	Bâle.	"	"	"	"	450 ³ "

¹ *Ensayo de una Biblioteca Española, formado con los apuntes de D. Bartolomé José Gallardo, coordinados y aumentados por D. M. R. Zargo del Valle y D. J. Sancho Rayon, Madrid, 1863.*

The rest of the work of Gallardo remains in manuscript in the National Library at Madrid.

² This is probably an error for 312 quartos.

³ This is doubtless an error for 450 quatrines.

July	7, 1521.	Spira.	The gold ducat was worth	215 pfennigs
July	27, 1521.	Antwerp.	" " " " "	220 negmits.
Dec.	1521.	Nuremberg.	" " " " "	86 craicers (kreutzer).
Jan.	15, 1522.	Frankfort.	" " " " "	288 pfennigs.
Feb.	1522.	Aix-la- Chapelle.	" " " " "	224 "
Feb.	1522.	Cologne.	" " " " "	296 "
June	1522.	London.	" " " " "	54 penins (pence).
June	25, 1523.	Fribourg.	" " " " "	450 pfennigs.
July	9, 1525.	Montpelier.	" " " " "	574 dineros.
July	14, 1525.	Montpelier.	" " " " "	564 "
Oct.	1525.	Leon.	" " " " "	570 "
May	11, 1526.	Avignon.	" " " " "	570 "
Sept.	4, 1530.	Perugia.	" " " " "	420 quatrines.
Nov.	13, 1530.	Bologna.	" " " " "	456 "
Nov.	28, 1530.	Modena.	" " " " "	468 "
Dec.	9, 1530.	Placentia.	" " " " "	480 "
Jan.	14, 1531.	Turin.	" " " " "	312 quartos.
Jan.	19, 1531.	Turin.	" " " " "	302 "
Feb.	4, 1531.	Italy.	" " " " "	443 quatrines.
April	4, 1531.	Padua.	" " " " "	280 beços.
June	1535.	Montpelier.	" " " " "	47 sueldos.
July	7, 1535.	Montpelier.	" " " " "	564 dineros.
July	12, 1535.	Montpelier.	" " " " "	47 seuldos.
Sept.	1535.	León.	" " " " "	570 dineros.

There are evidently errors in copying some of the figures. But the fact remains that we have an interesting table of exchange values between the gold ducat and various European coins, albeit of a period somewhat subsequent to that concerned in the present inquiry. It is, then, the value of the gold ducat, or the Excelente de Granada, at the end of the fifteenth century, as well as its equivalent value to-day which we have to ascertain.

In the oath taken in July, 1493, by the officers of the fleet of which we have just spoken as going to Africa, it is expressly stated that the cost of equipment and wages shall be reckoned on the basis of a gold ducat being worth 360 maravedis.¹ Clem-

¹ In our subsequent calculations we allow 375 maravedis to the gold ducat or Excelente de Granada, as this relative value was established by a Royal Cedula signed in 1497 at Medina del Campo.

encin in Spanish, and Peragallo in Italian, have written learnedly on the value of the maravedi in the time of the Catholic Sovereigns. The former, writing early in the nineteenth century and writing apparently for his countrymen rather than for the world, has often employed elements of comparison not familiar to students outside of Spain. But that his method is the most scientific hitherto used is at once apparent. He established the relation in the fifteenth century between gold and silver coinage; he showed the gradual increase of the proportion between them; the difference between their intrinsic or metallic price and the foreign or commercial price; their relative purchasing power in obtaining grain and food and the necessities of life; and finally, following the history of the coins with the things for which they were exchanged, he deduced the interesting fact that with a given quantity of fine silver in the fifteenth century one could have exchanged it for 6.40 times the quantity of grain or the necessities of life for which it could be exchanged in his day. If, now, Clemencin had used the universal *gramme* in his calculations the labours of the English student would be lessened to a simple translation of words instead of an uncertain translation of systems.

The copper maravedi, the measure of value in which monetary calculations were commonly made, does not seem to have been an actual coin in the year 1493.¹ It was a measure without substance. It would be as if we in the United States should, as indeed we do, legislate regarding the mill without actually minting it into a coin. We lay taxes in mills and yet no man ever saw one of these minute units of value. So in Spain in 1493, expenses were calculated in copper maravedis although they do not appear to have been at that time minted into coin. The small value of the maravedi did not operate against its coinage, as would be the case with the *mill* in the United States, for there existed a copper coin called the *blanca*, which was worth only half of a maravedi.² In Castile the mark of Cologne was

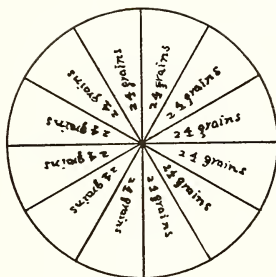
¹ There had been a gold coin known as a maravedi, a coin struck during the dynasty of the Almoravides in Spain at the beginning of the twelfth century. This coin is said to have weighed sixty grains, but as we have no knowledge of its gold contents, of its fineness, we cannot determine its value.

² Coins smaller than the blanca were in use, as for instance the *ceuti*, or *cepti*, circulating in Portugal, and which in the fifteenth century was equal to one third of a blanca. In the *Journal of Columbus*, under date of October 13, 1492, we read: "*I saw 16 bales of cotton given for three ceotis of Portugal which are equal to one blanca.*"

adopted as early as the time of King Alfonso XI., in 1348, who declared that all weights of gold and silver should be measured with the German mark. There was, however, a discrepancy in the respective weights. A Cologne mark is said to have equalled 232.862 grammes and a mark of Castile 230.045 grammes.

Let us adopt the mark of Castile, weighing 230.045 grammes, as the basis of all our calculations. We have three different methods of arriving at the value of the maravedi of the fifteenth century in our money of to-day. The first method is based upon the value of the blanca.

June 13, 1497, a Royal Cedula was issued by the Sovereigns at Medina del Campo providing that from one mark of coin metal 192 blancas should be coined. The Spanish assayers used as a standard for all pieces of money the *dineral*, which was divided into 12 dineros of 24 grains each. There were, then, 12 times 24, or 288 grains in the whole piece. This dineral is perhaps best illustrated by the following diagram:



Now the coin metal to be used in coining the blancas was to be seven grains fine. That is to say, out of the total of 288 grains composing the mixture, 7 grains were to be fine silver. Reducing this to decimals for greater convenience and according to modern usage, we find that $\frac{7}{288}$, the proportion of silver, was equal to .0243, and $\frac{281}{288}$, the proportion of copper, was equal to .9757. The mark, as we have stated, weighed 230.045

grammes, and from a mark of this coin metal 192 blancas were to be coined. Dividing 230.045 by 192 we have as the total weight of each blanca, 1.19815 grammes. Now .0243 per cent. of this total weight was fine silver and .9757 per cent. was copper, therefore the total weight of the blanca, 1.19815 grammes, was made up of .02912 grammes fine silver and 1.16903 grammes copper. The reader should be careful not to confound the figures .0243 and .9757, representing *fineness* of the coin metal, with .02912 grammes and 1.16903 grammes, representing the *weight* of the blanca.

By the United States statute of 1837, the grades and fineness of gold and silver coins were established. The fineness for all coins of both metals was made .900 for the precious metal, the alloy of silver being copper and that of gold being silver and copper, of which silver should not exceed 50 per cent. This grade of fineness has never been modified. Under that law all gold coins were to weigh 25.8 grains for each dollar of value, that is to say 23.22 grains of fine gold for each dollar. Each silver coin was to weigh at the rate of 412.5 grains for each dollar of value, and of this 371.25 grains were to be fine silver.

By the statute of 1873, the standard silver dollar was abolished and a trade silver dollar of 420 grains was established and the weight of subsidiary silver coins was changed to a rate of 25 grammes, or 385.81 grains, of which 22.5 grammes or 347.23 grains were fine silver.

By the statute of 1878, the silver dollar of 1837, weighing 412.5 grains with 371.24 grains of fine silver, was re-established and has not been since modified.

The value of all coins is based upon that of the precious metal contained, the alloy and labour of coinage being contributed by the government. Thus if we take 232.2 grains of fine gold to the Mint, we will receive a ten-dollar gold-piece weighing 258 grains, of which the fineness is 232.2 grains.

The value of gold per ounce then is,

$$\frac{480}{23.22} = \frac{8000}{387} = \$20.6718.^1$$

¹ The fraction $\frac{8000}{387}$ is the fraction $\frac{480}{23.22}$ reduced to its lowest integral terms, and means in simple integers that 387 ounces of Troy of fine gold are worth \$8000, and gold is thus worth at all times \$20.67 an ounce.

The recognised value of silver per ounce is,

$$\frac{480}{371.25} = \frac{128}{99} = \$1.2929.^1$$

By the first method of computation we establish the weight and value of the Spanish coin, the blanca, in modern terms as follows:

The blanca was made up of copper and silver in the following proportions:

Silver in a blanca...	.02912 grammes
Copper " " " ..	1.16903 " "

The recognised value of an ounce, or 480 grains of silver, is \$1.2929. The blanca, having .02912 grammes of silver, has 15.532 times that number of grains, or .44937 grains. We therefore multiply $\frac{44937}{480}$ by \$1.2929 (the value of 480 grains of silver) and find that the value of the silver in a blanca is \$.001210.

The Director of the United States Mint has kindly given us the value of the 1.16903 grammes of copper in the blanca as equal to \$.000318. Adding the value of the silver (\$.001210) to the value of the copper (\$.000318), we find that the blanca would be worth to-day \$.001528. As there were two blancas in a maravedi, this last coin would to-day be worth \$.003056.

Our second calculation is based upon the *real de plata* or silver real, a coin in common use in Spain at the time of the Catholic Sovereigns. Repeating our illustration, we again state that the dineral or standard used by the Spanish assayers was divided into 12 dineros of 24 grains each, there being 288 grains in the whole.

The coin metal used for the real de plata or silver real was 11 dineros and 4 grains fine. This was equal to $\frac{288}{388}$ of the total number, $\frac{288}{388}$, the remaining $\frac{90}{388}$ being alloy. Again reducing these numbers to decimals, we find that $\frac{288}{388}$ equals .93056, representing the fine silver in the mixture. The alloy is likewise represented by .06944.

Now the mark or standard of weight weighed 230.045 grammes and 67 reals were made from the mark at that time, so

¹ Here again the fraction $\frac{128}{99}$ is the lowest integral ratio of dollars and ounces of silver. In other words, 371.25 ounces of fine silver are equal to 23.22 ounces of fine gold, and the ratio is $\frac{371.25}{23.22}$, equals 15.9884, or 16 to 1 as we ordinarily speak of that ratio.

that, dividing 230.045 by 67, we have the weight of the silver real, 3.4335 grammes, and multiplying this total weight by .93056, representing the proportion of fine silver, we have 3.195078 grammes, the weight of fine silver in the real de plata. Now let us ascertain the value of the coin in our money of to-day, thereby arriving at the value of the maravedi. Silver is reckoned as \$1.2929 per ounce in United States money. As one ounce Troy equals 31.10 grammes, we find that one gramme of silver is worth .04157. A silver real or real de plata, as we have just seen, contained 3.195078 grammes of fine silver, and multiplying this by .04157, the value of one gramme of silver to-day, we have \$.132819 as the value of the silver real. Thirty-four maravedis are equal to one real de plata, therefore we divide \$.132819 by 34 and obtain as a result \$.003906 for the value of the maravedi in our money of to-day.

There still remains a third method for calculating the value of the maravedi and that is to base our calculation upon gold. In order to do this, we must make use of the coin known as Excelente de Granada, which was in use in Spain in the fifteenth century. In 1497 a Royal Cedula decreed that $65\frac{1}{3}$ gold pieces called Excelente de Granada should be coined from a mark. Remembering that the mark weighed 230.045 grammes we divide 230.045 by $65\frac{1}{3}$ and obtain as a result 3.52111 grammes, the weight of each Excelente. The fineness of this metal was $23\frac{3}{4}$ carats out of a total of 24 carats. Reducing this to decimals, we have .9896 as the figure representing the *fineness* of the metal. Now multiplying the weight of the Excelente, 3.52111 grammes, by .9896, we find that the weight of the Excelente in fine gold was 3.4845 grammes or 53.77388 grains. To arrive at the value of this coin in our money of to-day and thus at the value of the maravedi, we establish as a basis that 15.9884—practically 16 to 1—parts of silver are equal to one part of gold. Then if one ounce of silver is worth \$1.2929, one ounce of gold would be worth 15.9884 times that, or \$20.6714. Then dividing \$20.6714, the value of an ounce of gold, by 31.10, which is the number of grammes in an ounce, we have \$.66467 as the value of a gramme of gold. We have shown that each Excelente contained 3.4845 grammes of fine gold and at the value of \$.66467 per gramme, the Excelente would be worth to-day \$2.316042. Now 375 maravedis, or 11 reals and 1 maravedi, were equal to

one Excelente, or gold ducat, therefore if we divide \$2.316042 by 375 we obtain the value of the maravedi as \$.006117 reckoned on the basis of gold.

Again, as an ounce of gold is equal to \$20.6714, we have $\frac{20.6714}{480} = $.04306 = \text{value of a grain of gold.}$

As there are 53.7740 grains in an Excelente de Granada, we have $53.7740 \times .04306 = \2.3155 .

As there are 375 maravedis in an Excelente, we have $\frac{2.3155}{375} = $.00617 \text{ for the value of a maravedi.}$

This result is appreciably larger than the results obtained by our first two calculations, but this is to be accounted for by the difference in the ratio of gold and silver at the time the money was in use. We have used the ratio of 16 to 1 in our calculation, but the relative value of silver was far greater at the end of the fifteenth century. We will endeavour to establish the ratio at that time.

The real de plata, as we have seen, contained 3.195078 grammes of fine silver and 34 maravedis were equal to one real de plata. Dividing 3.195078 by 34, we have .093973 grammes of fine silver in the maravedi, and as 375 maravedis were equal to one gold ducat or Excelente, .093973 multiplied by 375 equals 35.2399 grammes of fine silver to the gold ducat. Then 35.2399 grammes of fine silver being equal to one Excelente and 3.4845 grammes of fine gold being also equal to one Excelente, it follows that 35.2399 grammes of fine silver equalled 3.4845 grammes of fine gold, and dividing 35.2399 by 3.4845, we have 10.113 as the ratio of silver to gold at the end of the fifteenth century.¹

We now make our calculation on the basis of this ratio and find that one ounce of silver being worth \$1.2929, one ounce of gold would be worth \$13.07509. Dividing by 31.10, the number of grammes in an ounce, we find that one gramme of gold would be worth .4204 and 3.4845 grammes of gold, the weight of the Excelente, would be worth \$1.46488. Then 375 maravedis being equal to one Excelente, we divide \$1.46488 by 375 and we

¹ Some authorities say that the ratio between silver and gold averaged between the years 1500 and 1520, 10.75 to 1, and from the years 1520 to 1540 it averaged 11.25 to 1, the ratio having increased about half of a point in twenty years. If this increase held good, the ratio between the years 1480 and 1500 was 10.25 to 1. We might assume that the ratio in 1492 was 10.3 to 1. We have, however, followed the ratio adopted by the Italian writers, the difference between the two not being great.

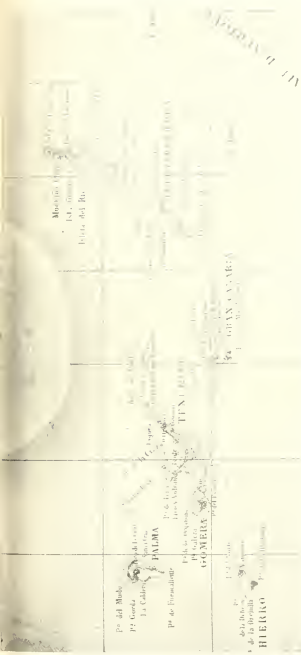
have \$.003906 as the value of the maravedi, or almost exactly the same result as that obtained by our other calculations.

We have, then, given the reader two values to the maravedi, the one based on the present value of our silver coin, the other based on the present value of our gold coin. If he adopts the former the value of the maravedi is \$.003906, if the latter it is \$.00617. We have tried to show that if the same ratio of difference between gold and silver prevailed to-day which probably existed toward the close of the fifteenth century, the value of the maravedi would be \$.003906.

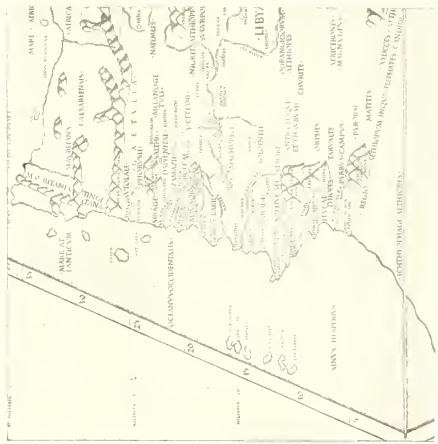
The entire amount of money expended by the Crown and by Columbus in equipping the first expedition we estimate to have amounted to the sum of 1,167,542 maravedis. Thus if the value of the maravedi is reckoned on the silver basis, the expedition cost in our money of to-day \$4,560.41, or about 942 English pounds sterling; if on the gold basis, it cost \$7,203.73, or about 1488 pounds. We are inclined to believe that the most satisfactory method of arriving at the relative values of the maravedi and our modern coin is to consider the purchasing power of silver in relation to that of gold at the end of the fifteenth century and to compare that with the purchasing power of gold to-day. We therefore prefer to accept the value of the maravedi at \$.00617. The sum seems small, but we must remember that the purchasing power of money was much greater four hundred years ago than it is to-day. Clemencin estimated the buying power of money in procuring food, labour, and the necessities of life at the close of the fifteenth century at 6.4 times greater than at the beginning of the eighteenth century, when he wrote. This proportion must be greater to-day. It is doubtful if \$80,000 would to-day accomplish what was then done with the actual expenditure of a sum equal to \$7,203.73 in our money. Under any circumstances, whether we consider the maravedis expended or the results achieved, we may regard it as the most fortunate outlay of money since gold and silver and copper were minted into coin.

Thus equipped, Christopher Columbus, with his little fleet of three ships and eighty-seven men, set sail from the town of Palos on Friday, August 3, 1492. And thus, after years of waiting, was the purpose of his soul on its way to at least a partial fulfilment.

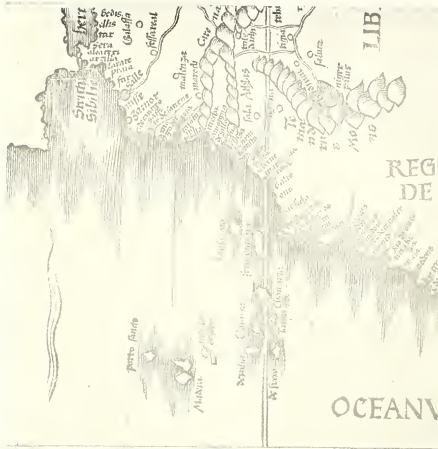
PART V
THE EVENT



The Canary Islands as Green in the "Cosmographia" of Ptolemy, Printed at Strasburg in 1478.



The Canary Islands as Green in the "Cosmographia" of Ptolemy, Printed at Rome in 1478.



The Canary Islands as Green in the Waldseemüller Map from the "Cosmographia" of Ptolemy, Printed at Strasburg in 1513.

CHAPTER LVI

THE DISCOVERY AND CONQUEST OF THE CANARY ISLANDS

THE Canary Islands constitute so important a link in the chain of American discovery that they deserve to have related something of their history and of their European occupation. It was from their shores that the real transatlantic and unknown voyage was undertaken by Columbus, and it was in departing from Gomera that he began to count the days of his journey. Peter Martyr tells us that he had determined to halt at the Canaries to victual his fleet and replenish his ships with wood and water. Columbus went southward to these islands that he might make his start westward upon their parallel on his own initiative, thus modifying the advice of Toscanelli, the Florentine philosopher. The distance from Cadiz of three hundred leagues, as Peter Martyr estimates it, gave Columbus a trial of his men and to them it gave a preliminary taste of the discomfitures and dangers of the Western seas. Whosoever would follow the first adventurers across the deep must loose his anchor from the sands of Gomera and mark the days from off the calendar as he leaves the last hospitable shores of the Old World.

Not only Peter Martyr, but some later historians as well, have failed to distinguish between earliest occupation, the mediæval re-discovery, and the subsequent conquest of these islands. One naturally thinks of an island affording a home for man only after he has been crowded away from the mainland in the fight for existence, or driven away from continental land by quarrels and defeats. An island, an isolation, is not the first choice of any people. Ethnologists find in the Canaries

traces of man in the second half of the Palæolithic, or primitive Stone Age, and skulls have been found in those islands which they assign to the men dwelling in caves. The generic skull known as the Cromagnon is said to have been perpetuated in the Guanches, or natives of the Canary Islands. Prof. A. Retzius, of Stockholm, discovered a close resemblance between the skulls of the Guanches, of the Canaries, and the Caribs of America, and Professor Le Plongeon finds the sandals which cover the feet of the famous statue of Chacmool, in Yucatan, similar to those found among the Guanches. Thus perhaps the route followed by the Genoese navigator across the Atlantic seas at the end of the fifteenth century, yielding to the mysterious Western magnet, was the same highway¹ taken by primitive man with his dug-out canoe in the ages that lie back of our counting.

The Canaries were colonised by the Phœnicians and were known both to the Greeks and Romans. Their geographical situation, extending from north latitude $27^{\circ} 40'$ to $29^{\circ} 25'$, and from a west of Greenwich longitude of $13^{\circ} 25'$ to $18^{\circ} 16'$, made them easily accessible from the African coast.

Homer, who wrote of heroes and for heroes, placed the departed spirits of his warriors in the Elysian fields beyond the ocean which, like a circling river, he made to surround the earth. Hesiod, the poet of the helots, he who wrote of the man with the hoe and of the bearer of burdens, established the habitations of the blest in far-off islands, islands of his imagination without locality or determined precinct. Pindar, the Bœotian flute-player, sang of the Elysian regions, the islands of the blest, but could direct none of the living to their shores. The Latin poets are scarcely more decisive. Virgil would not have Elysium outside of the limits of Italy. Tibullus ushers his shade into Elysian regions and separates the blissful plains where the good hold ceaseless revel from the shores of the black lakes where the wicked drag their chains, in punishment for having revelled before their time. Horace mentions them in the sixteenth song of his *Epodes*, written to the Roman people after the civil wars. In this he sincerely counsels the free citizens

¹ It is more likely that the Western migration followed the natural stepping-stones of the Aleutian Islands. The ethnologists here again discover traces of the Cromagnon skull among the Eskimos.

to leave their country and flee *ad divites insulas*, to the happy lands, the islands of the blest, and there abide in that place selected by Jupiter only for the blest and pious. Horace contents himself with the vague Homeric description of their situation beyond the ocean stream.

Plutarch, in his *Life of Quintus Sertorius*, tells us that this great warrior was so entranced with an account of the Fortunate Islands that he proposed to sail thither and pass the remainder of his life in peace and solitude. Sertorius, during the wars of the Republic, after preparing for a naval conflict with the faction headed by Sylla, who was sending against him Caius Annius and a large fleet of vessels, found his own ships broken by a violent storm and himself forced to take refuge upon the shores of Spain, at a point a little to the north of where the Guadalquivir, the ancient Bætis, falls into the ocean. Here he fell in with some sailors who had but lately returned from certain islands in the Atlantic.

Hoc in loco nautae quidam Sertorio obviam fiunt: tunc forte redeuntes ex Atlanticis insulis quas beatas vocant. Duæ quidem hæ sunt parvo inter se divisæ mari: Decem milibus stadiorum a Lybia Distantes.

The sailors gave a glowing account of these islands, their fertility, the graciousness of the climate, with soft dews and gentle showers to water the earth and make it abundant in fruits and vines. The rough Boreas and Aquilo have their anger subdued before they blow over these distant islands.

Two of these islands were separated from each other by a narrow channel. Here, says Plutarch, are the abodes of the blest described by Homer. "Hic igitur cum: audisset Sertorius micabilis eum cupido cæpit insulas eas adire incolere quæ & illic quiete vivere sine magistratibus & bellorum curis." Sertorius never realised his desire for retirement and was soon involved in new struggles.

The reader will observe that the lands described by the sailors are not yet called the Fortunate Islands, but are Homer's islands brought nearer for the immediate use of real men wearied with the exertions and vicissitudes of real wars. The distance given, if measured from the straits of Gades, and the description of two of the islands which well might be Lanzarote and Fuerteventura, are generally considered as identifying them with the

present Canary Islands. The visitation of the winds, Boreas from the north, and Aquilo from the east of north, seems to suggest land to the south of Europe.

Strabo, who wrote his books on geography in the first two decades of the first century, makes in his third book only a passing mention of the Fortunate Islands, called by him *Μακάρων νῆσοι*, the islands of the Blessed, and which he places "not far distant from the extremities of Mauritania over against Gades."

Pomponius Mela¹ is the first Latin author after Horace to mention these islands, and his reference is meagre in the extreme. In the chapter entitled "Atlantici Maris Ora et Insulæ," he speaks of them in the following words:

Contra fortunatæ insulæ abundant sua sponte genitis, & subinde aliis super aliis innascentibus nihil sollicitos alunt, Beatius quam aliæ urbes excultæ: una singulari duorum fontium ingenio maxime insignis, alterum qui gustavere risu solvuntur in mortem, ita affectis remedium est ex altero bibere.

Beyond the marvellous fertility of these islands and the antidotal character of certain of their waters, little information is obtained from this author. The important fact is that they were known as a group of accessible islands in the day of Pomponius Mela.

The elder Pliny, writing in the middle of the first century of our era, speaks of these islands and gives a relation of them as told by Juba,² one of the Kings of Mauritania, from which it

¹ We have followed modern scholars who place Mela in the early part of the first century under the Emperor Claudius. The text of Mela is filled with proper names of places and countries, but no historical events are recorded which would enable us to establish with exactness the period of his writing. An allusion to Britannia has by some been made to refer to a proposed visit to that northern island by Roman forces of the Emperor Claudius. The passage occurs in his third book under a division entitled *Hispaniæ et Septentrionis Insulæ* and reads: *Britannia qualis sit quales que progeneret mox certiora & magis explorata dicuntur.* That part of Africa called Mauritania was under Roman dominion during the reign of Claudius and a fleet was sent to Britannia to subdue that island. The character of his work indicates an earlier writing than that of Ptolemy. Other writers assign Pomponius Mela to the third century.

² This was Juba II., King of Mauritania in Africa. He was in Rome as a youth, having been captured when his father was defeated at Thapsus. Mauritania then became a Roman province, over which Sallust ruled as first Governor. As time went on, Juba so ingratiated himself with Augustus Cæsar by the graciousness of his manners that the Emperor gave him in marriage the hand of Cleopatra, the daughter of Antony and the Egyptian Queen, and returned him to his father's former possessions with the title of King. His literary abilities were considerable, and many writers quote from his works on history, the full texts of which are lost. He composed in poetry as well, and was the author of some dramatic writing.

appears that some of the islands had been inhabited. In this account, the name *Canaria* is given one of the islands because of the large number of immense dogs found upon it. In the description of another island, which has a mountain covered with perpetual snow, we easily recognised Tenerife,¹ whose mountain, a sleeping volcano, rears its peak 12,182 feet above the level of the sea.

“De Fortunatis insulis. Lib. vi., cap. xxxii.

“Sunt qui ultra eas fortunatas putant esse: quasdāq̃ alias: quarū numero idem Sebofus etiā sp̃atia cōplexus. Iuoniā abesse a gadibus. decl.M.p. tradit. Ab ea tantundē ad occasū uerius pluuiālīa capariāq̃. In pluuialia non esse aquam nisi ex hymnibus. ab iis.cc.l.M.p. Fortunatas contra leuam mauritāiæ. VIII.M.p.Oram folis uocari in conualle a conuexitate & planasiam a specie conuallis: circuitu.ccc.M.paffuum. Arborum ibi proceritatem ad centū quadrigita quattuor pedes adolefcere. Iuba de fortunatis ita inquit: ut sub meridiem positas esse ppe occasum a purpurariis.dcc.xxv.M. passuum: sic ut cc.l. supra occasum nauigetur. Deinde per ccc.lxxv.M.p. ortus petatur. Primam uocari ombrion nullis ædificiorū uestigiis. habere ī montibus stagnū. arbores similes ferulæ: ex quibus aqua exprimat̃ ex nigris amara: ex candidioribus potui iucunda. Alteram infulam iunoniā appellari. In ea ædiculam esse tantū lapide extractam. Ab ea in uicino eodem nomīe minorem. Deinde capariam: lacertis grandibus refertam. In conspectu earum esse uiguarīam: quæ hoc nomen accēpit a perpetua niue nebulosam. Proxima ei canariam uocari a multitudīe canum ingentis magnitudinis. ex quibus perducti sunt a Iuba duo: qui apparent ibi uestigia ædificiorum. Cum autem copia omnes pomorū & auium omnis generis abundant: hanc & palmetis cariotas ferētibus ac nuce pinea abundare. Esse copiam quoq̃ mellis. Papyrum quoq̃ & filuros ī amnibus gigni. Infestari eas beluis quæ expellantur assidue putrescentibus. At abunde orbe terrarū extra intra indicato collecta in arctum mensura æquior uidetur.”²

“There are some who think that beyond these³ are the Fortunate

¹ Cadamosto on his voyage to Gomera in April, 1455, saw from a great distance this grand peak covered with ice and snow. He did not land on this island, but did land on Gomera and Ferro. He relates that at that time the islands of the Grand Canary, Palma and Tenerife, were in the possession of the Guanches, or natives.

It will also be remembered that Columbus himself saw the volcano in active operation on his first voyage on the night of August 24-25, 1492.

² This extract has been made from the edition printed in Treviso in 1479, and which is in the author's collection of incunabula. It was printed by Michael Manzoli and the corrector of the printing was the famous scholar, Jerome Benoni. This edition had also the careful emendations of Philippus Beroaldus.

³ These first islands, referred to by Pliny, are the Madeira Islands, and Pliny refers to them as the islands of Mauritania and again as the Purpurariæ.

Islands and some think that they are elsewhere situated. Sebosus,¹ describing the number as well as the distances of these, relates that Junonia is an island seven hundred and fifty miles from Gades.² From these in going toward the west and at the same distance are Pluvialia and Capraria. In Pluvialia there is no water except that which comes from showers.³ From these and opposite the left shore of Mauritania, toward the sun when in its eighth hour past noon, are the Fortunate Islands, one of which is called Planasia from its characteristics and another Convallis from the irregularities of the ground. The circumference of this is 300 miles. There are trees growing to the height of 144 feet. Juba has thus investigated concerning the Fortunate Islands: they are situated in the south almost west from the Purpurariæ⁴ seven hundred and twenty-five miles⁵ and then as one would navigate toward the west, two hundred and fifty miles. Thence one may direct his course toward the east by a journey of three hundred and seventy-five miles.⁶ The first island is called Ombrios⁷ with no traces of human habitations. Pools of water are formed from the mountains. There are trees like the giant-fennel from which a liquid exudes, bitter in taste from the black kind, but rather pleasant from the whiter sort.⁸ Another island is called *Junonia*: in this is a small temple constructed of stone: from this and in the same neighbourhood is another called *Junonia the Lesser*: from thence one goes to *Capraria*, which is filled with large lizards: within sight of these is *Ninguaria*, which is foggy and derives

¹ Statius Sebosus was a Roman author who composed a book on the *Periplus* and another on the *Wonders of India*. Cicero speaks of him as the friend of Catullus, and thus we place him as flourishing about fifty years before the Christian era.

² The Cadiz of to-day.

³ From *Ουβροῖς*. By some this island is thought to be the modern *Hiero*, or *Ferro*.

⁴ These, as has been said above, are the Madeira Islands, and had their earliest name from Juba having established there a manufactory of purple dyes,—Gætulian purple, as we learn from Pliny in the preceding chapter.

⁵ The translator from the Greek manuscripts of Pliny changed the measurements from the Greek stadium into the Roman passus. A passus was equal to five Roman feet, and a thousand passūs, or eight Greek stadia, made a Roman mile. A stadium would thus be equal to 125 passūs, or 625 Roman feet, or, in English measurement, 606 feet and 9 inches. The Greek stadium is arrived at by measuring the façade of the Parthenon at Athens, to which the architect is known to have given exactly 100 Greek feet. Thus a Greek foot is equal to 0^m.308, or 12.135 English inches.

⁶ These sailing directions are puzzling, and one cannot hope to unravel the meaning of Pliny. Littré has sought to explain this by saying that in going from the Madeira Islands to the Fortunate Islands the course would be 250 miles westward, but in returning, because of the winds, it would require a course of 370 miles.

⁷ This is the island of *Pluvialia*, or rainy island. Depending on this reading we interpret this island to be Ferro, which would then be the *first* island starting from the west for the homeward or eastward journey.

⁸ This is probably the *Ferula glauca* of Linnæus. Pliny describes it more at length in his thirteenth book. Juvenal and Martial inform us that the Roman schoolmasters used its switches for the punishment of the scholars, and hence its name from *ferire*, to beat.

its name from the perpetual snow. Next to this is one called *Canaria*¹ from the multitude of dogs of gigantic size found there,—two of these were taken away by Juba. There they found traces of human habitations. But although all these islands abound in every kind of fruit and birds, this is full of date-bearing palms and the nuts of the pine. It also has plenty of honey. In the streams the papyrus-reed and fish² are found. These [islands] are infested with the carcasses of animals constantly thrown up by the sea. But having indicated with more than sufficient detail the places on the earth both within and without the lands, it would seem right to gather the distances into a narrow space.³

Solinus,⁴ in the last chapter of his *Rerum Memorabilium Collectaneæ*, entitled “De Babylone & de Recursu ad Oceanum Atlanticum: in quo Insulæ Gorgades Hesperidesque atque Fortunatæ,” closes his work with a description of the Fortunate Isles taken from Pliny, but with an enlargement of his text. The first island is called *Ombrion*, as Pliny has it, and the author says no vestiges of houses were found. Two kinds of ferulæ are mentioned, a black which exudes a bitter liquor, and a white kind more suitable for use. While there were no traces of habitations on the first island, Solinus says there were found on the

¹ The reader will find in the letter written by Guglielmo Coma to Syllacius, and reproduced in our present Work, that he speaks of Canarians to be found in the wild regions from Mount Atlas through the sands of Lybia, and that they were called Canarians because they seemed to eat as the dogs eat, fighting with them that they might share the carcass of some wild animal.

In one of the islands, Junonia Minor, a small temple of stone was found, but no figures of gods or objects of worship were seen except the figure of a man holding a ball in his hand, which was discovered by the expedition under Angiolino hereinafter related. The Egyptian god Anpu or Anubis, is always represented with the head of a dog or jackal, and was an object of universal worship among the Egyptians even into the Christian era. He performed the important office of presiding over the preparation of the mummy, and it was his duty to lead the embalmed body into the presence of the great Osiris. It may well have been that the dog-god was worshipped on these islands, but the explanation of Pliny that great dogs were actually found on the island and carried to King Juba seems definitely to fix the origin of the name of at least one of the islands and the subsequent designation of the entire group.

² Cuvier declares that this fish, the silurus, is not the sturgeon, as it was so long thought to be, but the *Silurus glanis*, called the “wels,” or “schaïd,” by the Germans.

³ It is difficult to say just what Pliny means by this, but it would seem that having virtually completed the geographical portion of his work and before turning to the description of living things, he proposed, in a sort of *résumé*, to give the distances of the places on the earth in relation to each other.

⁴ Caius Julius Solinus was a Roman grammarian and poet who wrote in the first century, but after Pliny, since he seems to have borrowed most liberally from the *Natural History* of the latter. The edition of Solinus here used is that printed at Parma by Andres Portilia in 1480, the first edition having been printed at Venice in 1473 by Nicholas Jenson.

second island, *Junonia*,¹ little dwellings meanly built with pointed roofs. The third island², called by the same name, is bare of vegetation. The fourth island, *Capraria*, is filled with enormous lizards. In the zoölogy of these islands, while three varieties of lizards are at present found, nothing is recorded of any resembling the enormous specimens found in Africa and in India. The fifth island Solinus calls *Nivaria*, from the cloudy and cold atmosphere and because of its perpetual snow.³

Claudius Ptolemæus, writing about the middle of the second century of our era, is the first geographer to give a more definite location, however inexact, to the position of the Canaries. His work was translated from Greek into Latin and printed at Vicenza in Italy for the first time⁴ in the year 1475. It is without maps, but it gives the latitude and longitude of all known places, countries, islands, towns, rivers, lakes, and mountains. Ptolemy began to count his degrees of longitude from the Canary Islands. At the end of the twelfth chapter of his first book he says:

Quare omnis longitudo terræ nobis cognitæ hoc est a meridiano

¹ Johannes Camers, who annotated some of the editions of Solinus, notably that printed at Vienna, Austria, in 1520, says the second island was so named after the goddess Juno. Camers consulted the early Greek manuscripts of Pliny's *Historia*, and scholars give weight to his notes and comments.

It is this edition which carries the famous map executed by Petrus Apianus, and which has the name *America* for the first time used in any engraved chart, unless recent alleged discoveries in Germany by Professor Fischer of the long lost Waldseemüller map shall deprive it of its honour.

² Camers says Martianus Capella asserts that the third island was called *Theoden*. Martianus lived in the second half of the fifth century, and was born in Africa. On the margin of a copy of Solinus in the author's collection of incunabula a cotemporaneous hand has inscribed the word *Nuda*, as if that were to identify the third island.

³ Many of the early Pliny codices, says Camers, have the word written *Ningaria*, derived from *Ningendo*.

⁴ The edition of *Ptolemy*, dated 1462, said to have been printed at Bologna, is spurious. The editor, Beroaldus, was only nine years of age in the year 1462. The printer, Dominicus de Lapis, is known not to have set up his press in that city until 1476. The geographical tables of Nicolaus Donis used in this edition were not prepared until 1468. Again, it has signatures, and this fact enables us to declare that it was not printed as early as 1462. The fact that the Vicenza edition of 1475 is without maps is of itself an argument against the issue of 1462. No printer, after maps had once been issued, would dare give to the public an edition without them. Moreover, the edition of 1478 alleges that Sweynheim, the engraver of the maps, was the first to exercise his art on copper plates, and these are found in the false edition. This last argument, however, is offset by the claim of the printer of the alleged 1462 edition, who in his Preface plumes himself on his engraved charts, and boasts of the discovery of engraving on copper as one boasted but a little time before of the invention of the art of printing. A complete collection of Ptolemies may be found in the Lenox Library, in the Ayers Library in Chicago and in the author's library.

designatio: seu terminante ab ultimo occasu insulas fortunatas usque ad seras: graduum centum ac Septuaginta & septem cum quarta ¹ *annotatur.*

In the fourth book these islands and their geographical position are given as follows:

Et Fortunatæ Insulæ Sex Numero

	Long.	Lat.
Aprositus insula.....	1	16
Heræ hoc est Iunonis insula.....	1	15 $\frac{1}{4}$
Plutana insula.....	1	14 $\frac{1}{4}$
Casperia insula.....	1	12 $\frac{1}{2}$
Canaria insula.....	1	12 $\frac{1}{2}$
Pintuaria insula.....	1	10 $\frac{1}{2}$

Nature has given the geographer an unchangeable circle girdling the earth from which he may count his degrees of latitude as he departs from it in going to the northward or to the southward. For his longitude he has had to fix for himself an arbitrary starting-place.

Ptolemy, then, in estimating distances eastward, fixed his starting-point in Ferro, that island of the Canary group situated farthest westward, out in the Atlantic Ocean. It was a purely arbitrary meridian or point of departure, and there being no land known to the westward, and all countries whose locations were to be established being to the eastward, it was a natural and wise selection for the time. For more than fifteen centuries this first terrestrial meridian selected by the Alexandrian geographer was accepted and used by most of the geographical writers. It was adopted by the Arabians ² of the Middle Ages in their charts and maps. As late as 1634, Louis XIII. of

¹ Sometimes Ptolemy gives his degrees not only of longitude but of latitude in subdivisions of $\frac{1}{4}$ and $\frac{1}{2}$.

² All the Arabian maps have the west over on the right side. Accustomed to read from the right to the left, they completely changed the ordinary manner of reading a chart. The north is below; the south is at the top of the map; the east is found by looking to the left side, and the great unknown west stretched itself out on the right hand. The maps which have been preserved and which were made by Edrisi, Istakhri, Ibn Haoukal, and others, were all arranged in this manner, and, when presented in modern maps, they will invariably be found to have been reconstructed. In some of the later Arabian maps Mecca was the terrestrial centre for the faithful, as well as their spiritual centre, and from this position of that holy city there radiated geographical lines like the rays from a sun.

The Persian astronomer, Maschar, took Djamkout for his first meridian.

France ordered its exclusive use by French geographers.¹ To-day the French count degrees of longitude from their observatory in Paris. In the English-speaking world the calculations are made with the observatory at Greenwich as the starting point. In Russia the degrees are counted east and west of St. Petersburg. The Dutch, at one time, drew their first meridian through the very clouds around about the peak of Tenerife. The nations of the world would do well in the interest of unity to adopt a common meridian of longitude and there can be no better point of departure, counting always eastward until 360 degrees are accomplished, than that chosen by Ptolemy when he measured less than half the globe.

The reader will understand that the nomenclature given above and the latitude and longitude of these six islands are calculated by Ptolemy himself and not by the printer of the first edition, dated 1475, and that therefore they are to be referred to the second half of the second century and to measure the geographical knowledge of that early period.

Then for centuries the Fortunate Islands faded from the knowledge of men. Among the different nations were legends associating sometimes adventurous sailors and sometimes unfortunate mariners with strange islands out in the Atlantic. Sometime toward the middle of the eighth century, when all Spain was invaded by hordes from Africa, the *Seven Cities* became places of refuge for exiles from ancient Spain, who, with their families and possessions and presided over by seven bishops, or as the tale goes, by an archbishop and six other bishops, settled perhaps on these very islands and drew between themselves and the world the curtain of effacement.

The Arabian geographer, Edrisi, flourishing in the eleventh century, knew these islands as *Khalidat*, which in Latin found the phrase translated *Insulæ Perennes*, but the Arabic adjective is believed to be derived from *Khuld*, as applied to Paradise, and hence the equivalent of our term Fortunate Islands.

Another Arabian geographer, Yakouti, or, as he is often called, Bakoui, refers to these islands as *Dgialidat*, but his close description identifies them with the Fortunate Islands, or Canary Islands of to-day.

¹ Richelieu ordered that this meridian should pass through the *Punta de la Dehesa* on the island of Ferro at the north point of the extreme western wing.

In the twelfth century, while Lisbon was yet under the yoke of the Arabs, eight men of that nation known as the *Almagurins* set sail to discover some island or islands in the Atlantic and swore they never would return until they found them. But they did return and reported that after thirty-five days' sailing to the south-west they came to an island to which they gave the name of *Sheep Island* (*Dgezerat Alghanam*), but they were unable, because of a bitter flavour, to eat the flesh of the animal for which the island was named. Journeying twelve days farther to the southward, they found an island whose inhabitants were of good size, whose skins were red, and whose hair was long, but thin. These characteristics seem to describe the native *Guanches* of the Canary Islands.

Another century passes and we find reference to a voyage made to the Canaries by a Genoese called *Lanzarota Maroxello*,¹ and to-day the most eastern island of the Canary group bears his name. It was more than a discovery. It was an occupation, for when Jean de Béthencourt first visited the island he found an old castle there said to have been built by *Lanzarota*. *Francisco Petrarch*, who was born in 1304, makes mention in his *De Vita Solitaria* of a Genoese expedition to the *Fortunate Islands* within the memory of man—*patrum memoria*. On the maps of the fourteenth century, particularly the *Portulano Mediceo*, dated 1351, and which is preserved in the *Laurentian Library* at Florence, the island is called *Lancerote* and over it is a Genoese shield *D'Argent à la Croix de Gueules*. As the map was made for a Florentine possessor, it is evidence that the Republic of Genoa's claim of discovery or possession was admitted.

The passage from Petrarch, which we give below, will fix the date of the Genoese occupation at about the year 1275. We have taken it from an edition of the works of Petrarch printed at Bâle, by *Johannes Amerbach*, 1496. Moreover, this passage will fix for the student of Petrarch the exact date when the great poet found himself in Avignon.

De solitariis trans aquilonem montesq; Rhiphæos² ac gentem-hyperborean & cæteras insulas existentes: Lib. ii., tract. vi., cap. iii.

¹ The Genoese books on Nobility say that the family of Maroxello was of French extraction. From the commencement of the twelfth century the name occurs among the magistrates of the Republic, while at least three of the family,—*Manfroy*, *Anthoine-Jude*, and *Charlot*,—under *Philippe de Valois*, commanded the Genoese ships serving the King of France. ² *Riphæi*, or *Rhiphæi*, lofty mountains in the north of *Scythia*.

"Concerning solitude beyond the north and the Riphean mountains and the northern people and certain other islands."

". . . Prætereo fortunatas infulas: quæ extremo sub occidēte ut nobis & uicioreſ & notiores: ſic q̄ longiſſime uel ab Indis abſūt uel ab arcto terra ml'tor: ſed imprimis Flacci lyrico carmine Nobilis cui? peruetuſta fama eſt & recēs: Eo ſiquidem & patꝛ memoria Ianuēſium armata claſſis penetrauit: Et nuper Clemens ſextus illi patriæ principem dedit: quem uidimus Hiſpanorū & Gallorum regum mixto ſanguine: generoſum quendā uirum: Qui meminiſti enim dum eo die corona ac ſceptro per urbem ſpectandus incederet: repēte tantus coelo imber effluxit: atq; ita domum madidus redijt: ut omen eſſet incubuiſſe illi ueræ pluuiæ & aquoſæ patriæ principatum. Cui quidem in dominio extra orbem ſito: qualiter ſucceſſerit non noui: Scio tamen q̄ multa ſcribunt & ferunt propter quæ non plene fortunatarū cognomini terrarū fortuna conueniat. Cæterum gentem illam præ cūctis ferme mortalibꝫ ſolitudine gaudere: moribus tamen incultam: adeoq; non abſimilem bæluis: ut naturæ magis inſtinctu: q̄ electiōe ſic agentem: nō tam ſolitariæ uiuere: q̄ in ſolitudinibus errare: ſeu cum feris ſeu cum gregibus ſuis dicas. Sed iam fatis curioſitate hac longe lateq; diſſūctos mūdi angulos puagatus ſum: Quorū omniū nō apud me: qui lecta uel audita refero: ſed apud auctores rerum primarios fides erit. Ego autem hiſ decurſis ad clariora & nobis notiora pꝛgredior."

"I paſs on to the Fortunate Iſlands, at the fartheſt point in the weſt and which are both nearer and better known to uſ. They are the fartheſt diſtant from the Indies, as well as from the extreme north. A land, the report concerning which is very old in the writings of many authors and among the earlieſt from the lyric ſong of the illuſtrious Flaccus and our lateſt report thereof is from an armed Genoefe fleet which within the memory of our fathers went as far as thoſe iſlands and lately Clement VI gave that country a Prince whom we ourſelves have ſeen, a perſonage with the mixed blood of Spaniſh and French Kings and of certain other noble men: whom you will remember as having on that very day gone ſtrutting through the city, diſplaying hiſ crown and ſceptre. A ſhower from Heaven ſuddenly deſcended and ſo, wet to the ſkin, he returned to hiſ houſe, and thus an omen ſeemed to weigh down upon him as if he was to be ruler of a damp and rainy land. I do not know if he has ſucceeded in eſtabliſhing himſelf in hiſ principality in the diſtant region, but I do know that much has been written and related ſhowing that the Goddeſs Fortune has not ſuited circumſtances to the name of the Fortunate Iſlands. Now the people who dwell there delight in ſolitude beyond almoſt all mankind; yet they are unciviliſed in their mode of life; ſo much ſo that they are almoſt like wild beaſts, living in this manner more by the inſtinct of their nature than by choice. You may ſay that they live not ſo much ſolitary lives as that they wander about in the wilderneſs [in ſolitary places] with wild beaſts or with their own flockſ. But I have now, led by curioſity, wandered enough, far and wide, about theſe remote cornerſ of the world,

—not in all of them in person,—I only repeat what I have read and heard; but confidence may be placed in the authorities. Now from these digressions I proceed to things which are more important and more familiar.”

In the year 1285 a Genoese expedition of two ships, under Tedisio Doria and Ugolino Vivaldo, started, as some say, with the hope of reaching the Indies by way of the west. Whether or not this expedition, which was unfortunate in its results, touched at the Canaries is not certain, but when in 1341 King Alfonso IV. of Portugal resolved to send an expedition to explore the islands, he already had knowledge of them and their relative situations obtained from previous expeditions by other nations. This last expedition was under a Florentine captain, Angiolino del Tegghia de Corbizzi, and consisted of three caravels. It set out from Lisbon on November 15, 1341, and made directly for the Canaries. They examined the whole of the archipelago and brought away four of the natives, some goat skins, tallow, oil, and dyewood.¹ When Clement VI. was Pope, by a Bull dated December 17, 1344, and issued from the See at Avignon, he bestowed the Canary Islands with the title of Prince of Fortune upon Don Luis de la Cerda, a descendant of Alfonso the Wise, King of Castile and the grand-nephew of Saint-Louis, of France. The Pope required that Don Luis should annually give to the Church four hundred golden florins, pure and of the weight of Florentine coins. The islands named in the Bull were Canaria, Ningraria, Pluviaria, Capraria, Junonia, Embronea, Atlantica, Hesperida, Cernent, Gorgonas, and Gauleta. These islands include most of the ocean lands known to antiquity and described by poet as well as geographer. Clement VI. wrote to the Sovereigns of Castile, Aragon, Portugal, Sicily, to the Dauphin of Vienna, and to the Doge of Genoa, announcing his

¹ When the expedition returned, one of its pilots, probably Nicoloso de Recco, a Genoese, wrote down the results, and this found its way into the hands of Giovanni Boccacio, who introduced it into a sort of memorial, the holograph manuscript of which was not discovered until 1827, when it was published by Sebastian Ciampi, in Florence. Its title sounds quite Columbian, *De Canaria et de Insulis Reliquis ultra Hispaniam in Oceano Noviter Repertis*. This account is found in the *Natural History of the Canaries*, by Barker & Webb.

On the island of Canary, Pliny's and Ptolemy's Canaria, they found a temple in which was a stone statue of a man with a ball in his hand, which they carried away to Lisbon.

The dyewood was the orchil, a lichen which yields a splendid purple dye, still imported from the Canaries as well as from the Cape Verde and other Atlantic islands

gift to Don Luis. On February 12, 1345, Alfonso, the King of Portugal, replied that he had already sent expeditions to the Canaries and that it was his purpose to conquer and colonise them. The King referred evidently to the expedition under Angiolino. Peter Heylin, in his *Cosmography*, relates that when the English Ambassadors at the Holy See learned of this gift of islands, they hastened to send the news to Edward III. of England, believing, as Heylin quaintly says, "some transport had been made of the British Islands, than which they thought that none could better deserve the name of the Fortunate Islands." The title of Don Luis de la Cerda, whose ignominious parade in the streets of Avignon is related by Petrarch, never was perfected by the occupation of the islands or by the payment of a single Florentine coin to the treasury of the Pope. King Edward III., and his son, the Black Prince, soon after invaded France, on the pretext that the King was the nearest male heir to the late King Charles IV. of France, and that the kingdom was his by right. Philip VI., the reigning King of France, had need of all his valiant subjects, and Don Luis de la Cerda was recalled from Avignon to the North for duty in the King's army.

There was published at Paris, in 1842, a manuscript by a native of the Canaries, Don Pedro del Castillo, in which there is an account of a voyage to the islands by Francisco Lopez, whose expedition sailing from Seville and bound for Galicia was driven out of its course by a storm and was forced to take refuge on the island of Grand Canary. The date of this landing is June 5, 1382, and the date is confirmed by a later expedition. Lopez and his companions numbered thirteen, and for seven years they lived on the islands in apparent peace, teaching the natives that form of knowledge which corrupts as it civilises and foreshadowing the inevitable conflict between the control of their own affairs by a native population and the supremacy of even a handful of European adventurers. The conflict came and the thirteen Europeans were killed by the islanders. While some believe that an element of retributive justice entered into this execution, there are those who count the unfortunates as among the saints and martyrs of the world. Five of these thirteen victims are said to have been priests, and the members of the Franciscan brotherhood in the island have erected to

their memory two chapels and accorded them the honours due the Christian martyr who dies for his faith. It is natural to suppose that during these seven years no other expedition had visited the islands or the Europeans would have escaped. Navarrete gives an account of another expedition sailing from Seville between the years 1393 and 1399.¹

In that part of old Normandy whose ancient capital was Caudebec are the ruins of an old château. The estate was once called Grainville-la-Teinturière, but only a few stones from which roses greet one and an old door covered with the ivy tell the traveller where to look for what was once a great castle, whose owners for generations had been great lords and holders of important fiefs. The old chapel which had once adorned the estate was gone, but in its place at some time in the eighteenth century a pious hand had erected a wooden church. Here one day a young priest² scarcely passed from the seminary was

¹ "The expedition to the Canaries, which some refer to the year 1393 and others to the year 1399, is of the greatest importance to our subject. Some Andalusians and other adventurers of Vizcaya and Guipuzcoa, who were associated in Seville, with permission of Henry III. prepared a squadron of five ships, with which they examined a part of the coasts of Africa and those of Fuerteventura, Canaria, Hierro, Gomera, and Tenerife, and, falling upon Lanzarote, they plundered its inhabitants, captured the king, the queen, and 170 islanders; and with the skins, animals, and wax, from which they derived great profit, they returned to Seville, informing the King of the facility of the conquest and exciting in others the greed to undertake such lucrative expeditions.

When Jean de Béthencourt made a conquest of these islands a few years later, through the knowledge he had received of them from certain French adventurers who had visited them in company with the Spaniard, Alvaro Baezra, it is shown that he rendered homage to the King, Henry III. of Castile, begging from him protection, aid, and provisions. King Henry having died, he repeated the oath and vassalage to King John II. and Queen Catherine, mother and guardian of the King, in Valladolid, June 25, 1412, for the lordship of the Canaries, conquered and to be conquered; and certainly without such powerful assistance, Béthencourt would not have been able to overcome the resistance of the islanders or quiet the disturbances and quarrels of his companions and countrymen. It is most notable that the coasts of Africa, previously visited by the Norman adventurers as far as the Cape of Sierra Leona, fixed the attention of Béthencourt even before concluding the conquest of the islands; and with a frigate and fifteen men he went from Cape Cantin [Cabo-Cantin] as far as the river Oro, which farther on is called Bojador, making some captives, acquiring information in regard to the ports, and projecting the construction of some fortresses in order to put the country under contribution, which excited the zeal of the King of Fez to the point of preparing an armament to invade the islands. The Castilians did not cease to frequent the route to these islands, and in this manner they acquired great knowledge and certain possessions on the coast of Africa."—Navarrete, vol. i., pp. xxiv.—xxvi.

² This was the Abbé Cochet, who was afterwards named Superintendent of Historic Monuments for La Seine-Inférieure, and whose first office was to erect in the

making a pilgrimage and gratifying a taste for study and research. An ancient dame guided his steps down the little church and told him that here lay a lord of high degree, and that yonder monument covered the remains of the lady of the manor, and there were effigies of many lords and of many ladies. Finally his eyes fell on a broken stone, a piece that had once been a tablet, but from which an inscription, all save a few letters, had been effaced by time. "And this," said the priest, "and this, what may it be?" "Ah, Monsieur," replied the dame, "I know not, save that it was once the tablet and the tomb of the King." "King," cried the priest, "surely, no King ever was buried here." "I cannot tell," she answered, "only always have I heard say that a great King lies somewhere here, a King who ruled some distant islands these four hundred years and more ago, and that this stone came from off his tomb." Then the young student knew that he was in the burial-place of Jean IV., Sire de Béthencourt and first King of the Canary Islands. Genoa, Portugal, Spain, and France each had sent expeditions to the Canaries and each had established claims to its islands, but it was destined for a Frenchman, with French followers, although under sovereignty to another country, first to attempt the conquest of the islands, to establish colonies and to open and to maintain intercourse with continental lands. Jean de Béthencourt, like Columbus, was drawn by the mysterious influences which had their home in the distant West. Unlike Columbus, he knew whither he was going and pointed his astrolabe over no uncertain sea.¹ Like Columbus, he had no thought of pillage, of enslaving natives, of exterminating a people. Unlike Columbus, he was a man of high birth and of a rich patrimony. Like Columbus, he entertained the hope of

little chapel of Grainville a monument of black marble, bearing these words in letters of gold:

"À la Mémoire
de Jehan
De Béthencourt,
Navigateur Célèbre
Et Roi des Canaries
inhumé dans le Chœur
de cette Église,
En 1425.
Priez Dieu Pour Lui."

¹ In the Muséum of Antiquities of Rouen, what is believed to be the actual astrolabe used by this navigator is pointed out to the curious traveller.

converting a heathen people to the Christian faith and of erecting new booths in the guild-hall of the world's commerce. The occupation and conquest of the Canary Islands was one step, taken at the very beginning of the marvellous fifteenth century, which led at the close of that century to the discovery of the New World. The work of Jean de Béthencourt was a preliminary movement in the great action culminating in the American discovery. Separated by nearly a century in time, they were both working on the same loom and with the same threads.

On the first day of May, in the year 1402, there departed from the port of La Rochelle this famous expedition headed by Jean de Béthencourt and his lieutenant, Gadiffer de la Salle, and counting in all some eighty persons. The unities of the drama of discovery and conquest demanded that Spanish land should furnish the shore of departure for such an expedition, and so contrary winds drove them to Vivero, in the Bay of Biscay, where they tarried eight days and thence made their way to Cadiz. The sailors and merchants in Cadiz and in Seville greatly discouraged the crew and the hearts of seven and twenty failed them so that they abandoned the expedition. The valiant ones departed from Cadiz, putting boldly out to sea,¹ spending three days in waiting for the wind and then five more in reaching the northern part of the island of Lanzarote. On this island they built a fortress called Rubicon and then, while Béthencourt returned to Spain for assistance, Gadiffer de la Salle made the tour of the other islands. No ordinary nobleman was strong enough of himself to hold land in sovereignty and again, like Columbus, Jean de Béthencourt, was obliged to apply not to the sovereign of his own land,² but to a foreign Prince for aid and protection. To Henry III., of Castile then, Béthencourt gave his islands and received them again to hold under the sovereignty of the Spanish Crown. When Henry died, his Queen, Catherine of Lancaster, acting for her infant son, John II., confirmed Béthencourt in his possession

¹ The expression in the old manuscript is "se myrent en haute mer." It shows that the Normans were accustomed at that epoch to head their vessels for the west and south in open sea and not to follow the coasts and sides of the African continent.

² Charles VI. of France was in such a mental condition, and his realm was so disturbed by political factions and foreign attack, that no help could be expected from him.

and created him King of the Canary Islands. Numbered among the members of Béthencourt's first expedition were two priests of Normandy, Frère Pierre Bontier of Saint Jouin de Marnes and Frère Jean le Vernier. Together they kept a journal of the expedition, of the first landing on the islands, and of their subsequent conquest and settlement. The manuscript was printed for the first time in the early part of the seventeenth century, and subsequently by Richard Henry Major¹ in English, and in French by Gabriel Gravier.² The original manuscript³ is still preserved by the descendants of Béthencourt in Normandy.

The islands appear under modern names for the first time on any engraved map in the *Ptolemy* of 1513.⁴ Instead of representing them as running in a straight line from north to south, as in the earlier engraved maps, an attempt has been made to place them in their true relative positions. In the text and in the older map of the African continent the nomenclature given by Pliny and Ptolemy is retained, but in the large map entitled *Tabula Moderna Prime Patris Africæ* the islands are named, counting from the east to the west, Lansaroto, Forteventura, Chanaria, Tanariffa, Gomera, de Palma, and de Ferro. These last two islands are separated on the map by the Tropic of Cancer.

As the islands are of volcanic origin, so they are subject to physical changes and doubtless the face of each since they were first discovered has been much altered by time and the elements. There have been periods when famine and pestilence have almost depopulated one or more of these islands, and many will agree with Petrarch that fortune has not fully maintained the richness of their poetical name.

The story of the conquest is the inevitable story of progress:

¹ Printed by the Hakluyt Society, London, 1872.

² Printed at Rouen in 1874.

³ Gravier describes this precious manuscript, which, while it is called an original, was probably a copy made about 1482 from the holograph journal of the Fathers Bontier and Vernier. It is a volume thirty centimetres high by twenty wide, is written on paper, the binding being somewhat worn. The relation of the conquest fills eighty-three leaves, and after this is an account of the family of Béthencourt made at a subsequent date. Each chapter begins with a large letter made in red colour. For the most part the heads of the chapters have vignettes made with pen in ink. These figures and pictures are intended to describe the inhabitants of the island and the scenes incident to the conquest.

⁴ This is the celebrated edition of *Ptolemy* which has the Admiral's map, and which is known as the Waldseemüller map.

See Author's *Continent of America*.

assault and resistance; courage and weakness; loyalty and treachery; benevolence and robbery; the propagation of the faith and brutal inhumanity; the cross a symbol of hope and yet appearing to the despairing native like a four-pointed sword; then the triumph of the stronger and the subjection, wasting, extinction of a people and of a race.

The sovereignty of Spain is over the islands of Canary to-day as it was when Jean de Béthencourt planted the banner of Castile, almost the last as they were the earliest colonial possessions of the proud and imperious Spaniard.

CHAPTER LVII

THE JOURNAL OF THE FIRST VOYAGE

It is intended that the narration of the first voyage shall flow from the account of the voyage and of the discovery written by Columbus himself. We find the expedition starting from Palos on Friday, August 3, 1492, and immediately the prudent navigator, realising that he was to compile the most momentous log-book ever touched by hand of sailor, began to enter the object of his voyage, the lofty purpose of his Sovereigns, their distinguished favour to himself, and to record, day by day and almost hour by hour, the occurrences and events which met him on his way.

Friar Bartolomé de las Casas had in his possession, among many other of Christopher Columbus's papers, his original holograph *Journal*. Regarding it as more or less discursive and voluminous, he made an abridged copy of this *Journal*, sometimes quoting the exact words of Columbus, but for the most part describing the daily events in the third person. It is this abridged *Journal*, consisting of seventy-six closely written folios, which Martin Fernandez de Navarrete published in 1825, and which was imperfectly translated into English and published in Boston in 1827. But when Las Casas wrote his *Historia* he frequently incorporated more matter from the original *Journal* than appears in the abridged *Journal*. In some instances the fuller account is of grave importance. We have followed the abridged *Journal* and when Las Casas has inserted added matter, we have placed it in a note.¹

¹ "Having perfected all his preparations, Thursday, August 2, 1492, Christopher Columbus ordered all his people to embark, and the next day, Friday, which was the 3rd of the same month of August, half an hour before sunrise, he ordered the sails raised and went out of the harbour and bar which is called Saltes, because that river of Palos is so named."—*Historia*, chapter xxxv.

This is followed by the prologue.

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THIS IS THE FIRST VOYAGE

and the courses and route which the Admiral Don Christopher Columbus followed, when he discovered the Indies; summarily arranged,¹ except as to the Prologue which he addressed to the Sovereigns and which literally commences in this manner:

IN NOMINE D. N. JESU CHRISTI

(*Literally Translated*)

Because, Most Christian and very exalted and very excellent and very powerful Princes, King and Queen of the Spains and of the Islands of the Sea, our Lords, in this present year of 1492 after your Highnesses had made an end to the war of the Moors, who were reigning in Europe, and having finished the war in the very great city of Granada, where in this present year on the 2nd day of the month of January, I saw the Royal banners of your Highnesses placed by force of arms on the towers of the Alhambra, which is the fortress of the said City: and I saw the Moorish King come out to the gates of the City and kiss the Royal hands of your Highnesses, and the hands of the Prince, my Lord: and then in that present month, because of the information which I had given your Highnesses about the lands of India, and about a Prince who is called Great Khan, which means in our Romance language, King of Kings,—how he and his predecessors had many times sent to Rome to beg for men learned in our Holy Faith that they might² be instructed therein, and that the Holy

¹ Bartolomé de las Casas incorporated in chapter xxxv. of his *Historia* the Prologue to the *Journal* of Christopher Columbus. The original *Journal*, every word of which was in the Admiral's proper hand, was before the author of the *Historia*. This holograph *Journal* is now lost. It was undoubtedly voluminous and discursive. Into it Columbus poured his thoughts, his feelings, his knowledge, and his dreams. To the mind of the historian it sadly needed editing. Las Casas was, perhaps, as well fitted for this work as any man. He was familiar with every phase of the discoveries, the early exploration, and the settlements of the New World. He knew the Discoverer himself: he knew his brothers and his sons. He was fearless and independent, and, so far as his temperament permitted him, he was impartial. But we wish the *Journal* had been incorporated in his work just as it came from the Admiral's hand. Instead of this, we have passages taken from the *Journal* word by word, other passages abridged by Las Casas and given in his own language, and still other passages in which the reader must determine for himself whether the historian is quoting the sentiments of the Admiral or his own. The short Prologue with which Columbus opens his *Journal* is given verbatim by Las Casas.

² It is important for the reader to remember that this information about the Great Khan was communicated by Paolo Toscanelli to Fernam Martins, a Canon of Lisbon, in a letter written him from Florence, June 25, 1474, a copy of which was sent some years afterward by this Florentine philosopher to Columbus, who was then in Lisbon. The purport of this letter was that the lands of India could be reached by sailing due west from Portugal, and he uses the very expressions employed by Columbus in relation to the *prince called Great Khan which means in our language the King of Kings*. Attention is here called to this matter because, as we have already

Father had never furnished them, and so, many peoples believing in idolatries and receiving among themselves sects of perdition, were lost;— your Highnesses, as Catholic Christians and Princes, loving the Holy Christian faith and the spreading of it, and enemies of the sect of Mahomet and of all idolatries and heresies, decided to send me, Christopher Columbus, to the said regions of India, to see the said Princes and the peoples and lands, and learn of their disposition, and of everything, and the measures which could be taken for their conversion to our Holy Faith: and you ordered that I should not go to the east by land, by which it is customary to go, but by way of the west, whence until to-day we do not know certainly that any one has gone.¹ So that, after having banished all the Jews from all your Kingdoms and realms, in the same month of January, your Highnesses ordered me to go with a sufficient fleet to the said regions of India²: and for that purpose granted me great favours and ennobled me, that from then henceforward I might entitle myself *Don* and should be High Admiral of the Ocean-Sea and Viceroy and perpetual Governor of all the islands and continental land which I might discover and acquire, and which from now henceforward might be discovered and acquired in the Ocean-Sea, and that my eldest son should succeed in the same manner, and thus from generation to generation for ever after: and I started from the city of Granada on Saturday, the 12th day of the month of May in the same year 1492: I came to the village of Palos, which is a sea-port, where I fitted out three vessels, very suitable for a similar undertaking: and I left the said port, well supplied with a large quantity of provisions and with many seamen, on the 3rd day of the month of August in the said year on a Friday³ at the half hour before sunrise, and took my way to the

seen, some writers have tried to show that the Toscanelli correspondence was a fabrication, the result of a conspiracy after the death of Columbus on the part of Bartholomew Columbus, Ferdinand Columbus, and Las Casas, all interested in destroying the force of the so-called Pilot story (which story made Columbus simply a follower of some unknown sailor driven to the Western lands by hostile winds, and who, dying in the house of Columbus, left the latter his charts with carefully plotted courses) and substituting for this legend a correspondence with a scientist, whose sagacious theories coincided with those of Columbus and confirmed him in his practical views. This passage indicates that Columbus had Toscanelli's letter in mind when he wrote this Prologue.

¹ Here we have an assertion by Columbus that no one (and, therefore, no shipwrecked or storm-tossed pilot) had ever gone that way before.

The reader will store this passage in his memory because it is the testimony of the most important witness in the case of Toscanelli *versus* the Huelva Pilot.

² Navarrete notices the apparent disagreement of dates since the decree of the Spanish Sovereigns banishing the Jews was issued, March 30, 1492, and the Capitulation with Columbus was executed April 17, 1492: and the order for equipping the expedition was issued April 30, 1492. Nevertheless, it was in the very first days of January that Columbus was promised help, a virtual agreement existing, and it is certain that the expulsion of the Jews was determined long before the actual decree was promulgated.

³ Friday, the sixth day of the week, the day of our Lord's crucifixion, has long been regarded as an unlucky day. Soames, in his *Anglo-Saxon Church*, repeats the tradition that Adam and Eve ate of the forbidden fruit on a Friday and died on a

Canary Islands of your Highnesses, which are in the said Ocean-Sea, in order to set out on my voyage from there and sail until I arrived at the Indies,¹ and make known the message of your Highnesses to those Princes, and fulfil the commands which had thus been given me: and for this purpose, I decided to write everything I might do and see and which might take place on this voyage, very punctually from day to day, as will be seen henceforth. Also, Lords and Princes, besides describing each night what takes place during the day, and during the day, the sailings of the night, I propose to make a new chart for navigation, on which I will locate all the sea and the lands of the Ocean-Sea, in their proper places, under their winds; and further, to compose a book and show everything by means of drawing, by the latitude from the equator and by longitude from the west, and above all, it is fitting that I forget sleep, and study the navigation diligently, in order to thus fulfil these duties, which will be a great labour.—

FRIDAY, AUGUST 3.

Friday, August 3, 1492, at 8 o'clock we started from the bar of Saltes²:

Friday. But Friday is peculiarly an American day. Columbus sailed from Palos on Friday, August 3, 1492; discovered land in the New World on Friday, October 12, 1492; departed from the island of Española to return to Spain, Friday, January 4, 1493; and on Friday, March 14, 1493, the successful adventurer anchored the *Niña* in the river before Palos.

¹ In the controversy over Columbus and his project, this passage is of momentous importance. While in the Capitulation,—the agreement between Christopher Columbus and the Sovereigns,—dated April 17 and April 30, 1492, reference is made only to the prospective discovery of islands and mainlands in the Ocean-Sea, the entry in the *Journal* discloses that the expedition was equipped for a voyage to the Indies, to whose Princes, upon his arrival, Columbus was to make known the messages of his Sovereigns. The omission of this final purpose in the Capitulation was because of its irrelevancy, and because it was fully included and incorporated in other papers and documents.

That he hoped and expected to find lands *en route*, justifying the formal Capitulation, is evident from the entry a few lines farther on in the Prologue, where he says he will "make a new chart for navigation on which I will locate all the sea and the lands of the Ocean-Sea."

² *Saltes*. An island formed by two arms of the river Odiel, in front of the village of Huelva. It was populated at least since the twelfth century, continuing its identity to the year 1267, in which year the King, Don Alonso the Wise, divided the territory of the village of Saltes from that of Huelva. It is unknown when it was depopulated, since, although in the *Suma de Geografia* of Martin Fernandez de Enciso, printed in 1519, mention is made of that village, it is known that at that time the church which was adjudged to the people of Huelva alone remained, which denotes that there was no longer a population. A very long time could not have passed before the church was ruined, since to preserve its memory a hermitage was founded in Huelva with the title of Nuestra Señora de Saltes, in which a cross is preserved, a relic of the parochial church. Vestiges of the village yet exist upon the island, and its territory is divided into cultivated fields, pasture lands, and mountains reserved for small game. It is the property of the Marquises of Ayamonte, who hold it with the title of Counts of Saltes. (Opinion of Don Josef Ceballos at the beginning of *Huelva Illustrada*, by the Licentiate Don Juan de Mora, printed in Seville in the year 1762.)

Christopher Columbus

we went with a strong sea-breeze 60 miles, which are 15 leagues,¹ toward the south, until sunset: afterwards to the south-west and to the south, quarter south-west, which was the way to the Canaries.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 4.

We went to the south-west, quarter south.

SUNDAY, AUGUST 5.

We went on our way, more than 40 leagues between day and night.

MONDAY, AUGUST 6.

The helm² of the caravel *Pinta*, upon which was Martin Alonso Pinzón, broke or became disjointed: this was believed and suspected to have been caused by ones Gomes Rascon and Cristobal Quintero, who owned the caravel, because that voyage was displeasing to them. The Admiral says that before he left, they had discovered the aforesaid men concerned in certain plots and intrigues, as they say. The Admiral was greatly disturbed there, on account of not being able to aid the said caravel without endangering himself [his own vessel] and says that he became less anxious from knowing that Martin Alonso Pinzón was a brave and intelligent person: finally, between day and night they went 29 leagues.³

TUESDAY, AUGUST 7.

The helm of the *Pinta* again became disjointed and they repaired it and went in search of the island of Lanzarote, which is one of the Canary Islands, and they went 25 leagues between day and night.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 8.

The pilots of the three caravels differed in opinions as to where they were, and the Admiral came nearest to the truth and wished to go to the Grand Canary to leave the caravel *Pinta*, as she was getting into bad con-

¹ Columbus used Roman or Italian miles, which are of lesser length than Spanish miles, reckoning four Italian miles to a league.

² The word used here is "gobernario," which means the rudder or helm.

³ August 6.—Under this date Las Casas describes the accident to the *Pinta* in the same terms and continues:

"They arrived in sight of the Grand Canary in a matter of seven days, on the coast of which he ordered the caravel *Pinta* to remain, because she was leaking badly, and on this account it was extremely necessary to beach her on the Canary. Christopher Columbus, with the other caravel, went to Gomera and after many delays and struggles returned to Canary to the port of Gaudio, which is good, to repair the *Pinta*, where by night and day with great solicitude and inestimable labours he did so and returned with her to Gomera, Sept. 2. Christopher Columbus says here that one night when he was going near Tenerife, so much fire came out of the peak of the mountain, which as has been said is one of the highest known in the world, that it was a very wonderful thing. The people under all these labours and inconveniences which were offered them, did not cease to murmur and show reluctance about the journey and commence to feel greater difficulties."

dition on account of the helm and was leaking and he wished to obtain another caravel there, if one could be found. They could not make the Grand Canary that day.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 9.

The Admiral was not able to reach Gomera until Sunday in the night, and Martin Alonso remained on that coast of the Grand Canary by order of the Admiral, because he was not able to navigate. Afterwards the Admiral reached Canaria (or Tenerife) and they repaired the *Pinta* very well, with much labour and great efforts on the part of the Admiral, Martin Alonso and the others: and finally they came to Gomera. They saw a great fire issue from the mountains of the island of Tenerife of which the greater part is very high.¹ They made the sails of the *Pinta* round, as they were lateen sails.² He returned to Gomera, Sunday, Sept 2, with the *Pinta* repaired.

The Admiral says that many honourable Spaniards, inhabitants of the island of Hierro, swore that they were on Gomera with Doña Inez Peraza, mother of Guillen Peraza, who was afterward the first Count of Gomera, and that each year they saw land to the west of the Canaries [which is to the west] and others from Gomera affirmed the same thing under oath. The Admiral says here that he remembers that being in Portugal in the

¹ Humboldt remarks that Columbus is the first voyager to fix the date of an eruption of this volcano. Alvise de la Cadamosto, half a century before this, had seen the peak of Tenerife in going to Gomera, but it does not then appear to have been in active eruption. The exact date at which this eruption was observed by Columbus is not to be determined from the abridged *Journal*. Ferdinand Columbus, who, of course, had his father's papers, gives the exact date as August 23, 1492. It is from his account that we learn of the efforts of Columbus to replace the *Pinta* with a more serviceable vessel. If we may believe this account, Columbus arrived off the Canaries on August 9, 1492, but because of contrary winds he could not land on the Grand Canary until three days later. He left there Martin Alonso Pinzón, with orders to seek a caravel to take the place of the *Pinta*, and he himself went on to Gomera, at which he arrived, August 12, with the same purpose in view in case Pinzón failed in his efforts. At this port he was told that Beatriz de Bobadiglia, the Governess of the Island, was expected back from the Grand Canary, and that she had a vessel of forty tons equipped for a long voyage which he might obtain. After waiting two days, finding that a boat was setting out for the Grand Canary, he sent a messenger to tell Pinzón to repair the caravel and that he would shortly join him. Some days having passed without any word having come from Pinzón, on August 23, 1492, Columbus started to discover what had become of him. On the way he met with the boat on board of which was his messenger, and which had not been able to reach its destination because of the stormy weather. He took off his messenger and passed that night near the High Rock of Tenerife. Humboldt adopts this date as the time of his observations of the eruption; but the fiery top of the peak of Teyde, 12,182 feet above the sea, must have been visible from almost any position in which Columbus found himself since August 9. The sight of this mountain in flames, according to Ferdinand, aroused the fears of the crew, but it is extremely unlikely that sailors who had seen Ætna and Vesuvius would have regarded this spectacle as at all supernatural.

² Lateen sails—*vela latina*—were broad and triangular in shape.

year 1484, a man came from the island of Madeira to the King to beg him for a caravel in order to go to this land¹ which he saw, which he swore he saw each year and always in the same manner: and he also says he remembers that the same was said in the Azores Islands, and that all were agreed as to the route, the appearance and size.² Having then taken water and wood and meat, and the other things which the men had, whom the Admiral left on Gomera when he went to the Island of Canaria to repair the caravel *Pinta*, he finally set sail from the said island of Gomera with his three caravels on Thursday, Sept 6.³

¹ May not this be the original of the Pilot story so far as it relates to Columbus? The date, 1484, is that given by the Inca, Garcilasso, for the occurrence.

² "On the death of Fernan Peraza in 1452, the dominion of the Canaries remained to his daughter, Doña Inez, married to Diego de Herrera. The possession was confirmed to her by the King, Don Henry IV., September 28, 1454. Already, at that time, according to what the Admiral says, the inhabitants of Gomera and Hierro every year saw a country to the West, which it has been pretended was the imaginary isle of San Borondon. After this time the illusions and imaginings of the common people continued, in spite of the expeditions and vessels which were despatched to find it and investigate it, without the most skilful sailors which could be employed for that purpose being able to accomplish its discovery. Viera, in his *Historia de Canarias*, relates circumstantially all these events with sincerity and good judgment (tom. i., lib. i., § xxviii., pág. 78 and following); and Féijóo refutes these visions as the imagination of the common people (*Teat. Crit.*, tom. iv., disc. x., § 10).

"M. Pedro de Medina, in his *Grandezas de España* (cap. lii., pág. 47), says that not far distant from the island of Madeira there was another which was called *Antilia*, which was then no longer seen and which was found depicted on a very ancient chart of navigation; and Viera (tom. i., pág. 90) relates that some Portuguese and inhabitants of Madeira saw some countries to the west which they never could find, although they attempted it, and that this was the beginning of their representation on the Charts, because then some new islands in our seas were delineated, especially *Antilia* and *San Borondon*. The latter is found on the globe or mappemonde which Martin de Behaim constructed in Nuremberg in the year 1492, situated to the south-west of the island of Hierro, although the Cape Verde Islands interposed.

"From these imaginings, well established throughout the space of about four centuries, and which were most dominant in the epoch of discoveries at the end of the fifteenth century and beginning of the sixteenth, and from the malignant emulation with which, after the first voyage, it was sought to belittle the merit of the great Columbus, must have arisen the reports that the new continent and its islands had been previously discovered, perhaps by Alonso Sanchez de Huelva or by some other Portuguese or Biscayan navigator, according to what various Spaniards wrote, perhaps by Martin de Behaim, as some foreigners have pretended, although with moderation; but Oviedo, a cotemporary author, assures us that no one could affirm that story with truth, that it went throughout the world thus among the common people, and that he considered it false. Don Christopher Cladera, in his *Investigaciones Históricas*, refuted with very weighty and well-founded reasons these pretensions of natives and foreigners, defending the merit and the glory of the first Admiral of the Indies."—Navarrete.

³ "During these days Christopher Columbus was advised that three caravels armed by the King of Portugal were going among those islands in order to take him, because as the King of Portugal knew that he had made arrangements with the Sovereigns of Castile, it weighed greatly upon his mind, and he commenced to see and fear the fortune which God had taken from his hands, on which account he [the King] ordered that on the islands of Madeira, and of Puerto Sancto, and of the Azores, and

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THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 6.

He started on that day in the morning from the harbour of Gomera and took his course to go on his voyage: and the Admiral learned from a caravel which came from the island of Hierro, that three caravels from Portugal were sailing about there, in order to capture him: it must have been through the envy felt by the King of Portugal, because of the Admiral's going to Castile: and he sailed all that day and night in a calm and in the morning found himself between Gomera and Tenerife.¹

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 7.

He was becalmed all Friday and Saturday until 3 o'clock at night.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 8.

On Saturday at 3 o'clock in the night, the north-east wind commenced to blow, and he took his course and route to the west: he had a heavy head sea, which obstructed his way; and he sailed that day and night about 9 leagues.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 9.

He went 19 leagues that day and resolved to reckon less than he had gone, so that if the voyage should be a long one, his people would not be frightened and discouraged.² During the night he went 120 miles which are 30 leagues, at the rate of 10 miles an hour. The sailors steered badly, falling off to the north-east quarter and even half of the quarter [*a la media partida*] about which the Admiral many times reprimanded them.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 10.

During that day and night he went 60 leagues, at the rate of 10 miles an hour, which are 2½ leagues: but he computed only 48 leagues, in order not to frighten the people if the voyage should be lengthy.

in the regions and harbours where there were Portuguese, on his going or coming he should be taken; as afterward appeared by the trick which was played him [Columbus] on his return, at the Azores Islands, but this time he [Columbus] did not encounter the three caravels."—*Historia*, chap. xxxvi.

¹ September 6. "Having taken water and wood and meat and all refreshments and the other things which he saw to be necessary for his journey, in Gomera, he ordered the three vessels to make sail, and immediately started from the port of Gomera in the morning."—*Historia*, chap. xxxvi.

² Here, at the very beginning of the voyage, we find the resolve of Columbus to falsify the reckoning and we also find his motive. At this time Columbus was not posing as the scientist, giving exact knowledge to the world. Indeed, to the end of his days, we find him exceeding chary in publishing his marine routes. But now he is the wary commander, dealing with followers who were ignorant, superstitious, and not over-friendly. It was a time for prudence.

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TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 11.

That day they sailed on their way, which was to the west, and went 20 leagues and more, and they saw a large piece of a mast belonging to a ship of 120 tons burden, and they were not able to take it. That night—about 20 leagues, but he did not count more than 16 for the said reason.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 12.

This day, pursuing his course, they went 33 leagues during the night and day, computing less for the said reason.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 13.

This day and night, going on their way which was to the west, they went 33 leagues and computed 3 or 4 less. The currents were against them. On this day at the beginning of the night, the needles declined to the north-west, and in the morning they declined a trifle.¹

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 14.

During that day and night they sailed on their way to the west and went 20 leagues: he computed something less. Here the persons on the caravel *Niña* said they had seen a jay (*garjao*) and a ring-tail (*rabo de junco*) and these birds never go more than 25 leagues from land at most.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 15.

He sailed that day and night 27 leagues upon his course to the west and somewhat more, and at the beginning of this night they saw a marvellous branch of fire fall from the heavens into the sea, 4 or 5 leagues distant from them.²

¹ Columbus now, for the first time on his voyage, sees the needle turning toward the west. Therefore, it was at some time during the day that the vessels crossed the line of no variation, and Humboldt calculates that the navigator was then in latitude 28° north and longitude 30° 30' west of Paris, or about 3° west of the Isle of Flores, the most western of the Azores. The pilots did not appear to notice this variation in the needle until Monday, September 17, when they "took the position of the North Star." Here, also, on September 16, Columbus found himself in the Sargasso Sea, and speaks particularly of the character of the air. The combination of the line of no variation, the discovery of the grass-covered sea indicating the outer court to land, and the change in temperature, has led some writers, and Humboldt first of all, to find the suggestion of a natural line of demarcation "one hundred leagues west of the Azores" in the observations of Columbus himself.

Mariners long had known that the magnetic needle did not point to the true north, but to the east of north. Here was given Columbus a great discovery,—the declination of the needle to the west of north after having passed the true north, or the point at which no variation was noticeable.

² September 15. Las Casas describes the falling of the branch of fire, and adds that, "All these things disturbed and saddened the sailors, and they commenced to think that they were signs they had not started upon a good course."

The phenomenon of "falling stars" must have been known to Columbus, and it was something out of the ordinary that would cause him to characterise such a display as "marvellous."

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 16.

They sailed that day and night on their course to the west: they went 39 leagues but he computed only 36: there were some clouds that day and it rained slightly. The Admiral says here, that now and always from this time forward the air was extremely temperate, and that it was a great pleasure to enjoy the mornings and that nothing was lacking except to hear nightingales. He says that the weather was like April in Andalusia. Here they began to see many tufts of very green grass, which according to appearance had not long been detached from the land, on which account every one judged they were near some island: but not the continental land, according to the Admiral, who says, "because I make the continental land farther onward."¹

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 17.

He sailed on his way to the west, and they went 50 leagues and more during the day and night. He did not register more than 47. The current helped them. They frequently saw a great deal of grass and it was grass from rocks, and it came from the west. They judged that they were near land. The pilots took the position of the North Star, marking it, and they found that the needles declined to the north-west a good quarter, and the sailors were afraid and were troubled, and did not say for what reason. The Admiral knew it and ordered them to take the position of the North Star again at dawn and they found that the needles were good. This was because the star which appears, moves, and the needles do not. At dawn that Monday they saw much more grass, which appeared to be grass from rivers, in which they found a live craw-fish which the Admiral kept, and he says that those were sure indications of land because they are not found 80 leagues from land. They found the water of the sea less salt since they left the Canaries, the breezes always milder.² They all became

¹ September 16. Las Casas says "38 leagues." After describing the finding of the grasses, he adds:

"Most of it inclined to a yellow colour; and as the journey already seemed long to them and distant from shelter and they had commenced to murmur about the voyage, and about him who had placed them there, on seeing the pools [*balsas*] of grass, very distant and which were very large, they [the crew] commenced to fear that they were rocks or submerged lands, on which account they were moved to greater impatience and stronger murmurs against Christopher Columbus, who was guiding them: but having seen that the vessels passed amongst the pools of grass, they then lost their fear to some degree, but not entirely."

² Sept. 17. Under this date Las Casas adds:

"They had gone 370 leagues up to this point, which leagues were from the island of Hierro, the most western of the Canaries."

Then he tells of the marking of the North Star, and adds:

"All the sailors feared greatly and all became very sad, and began to murmur under their breaths again, without making it known altogether to Christopher Columbus, seeing such a new thing, and one they had never seen or experienced, and therefore they feared they were in another world."

He then describes the other things they saw and the explanation of Columbus about the star, and says the people became joyful and again contented

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very joyful and the fastest ships went onward in order to be first to see land. They saw many tunny-fish [*toninas*] and the people on the *Niña* killed one. The Admiral says here that those indications came from the west, "where I hope in that exalted God in whose hands are all victories that land will very soon appear." This morning he says he saw a white bird which is called ring-tail [*rabo de junco*] which is not accustomed to sleep on the sea.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 18.

He sailed that day and night, and they went more than 55 leagues, but he only noted 48. All these days the sea was very calm, as in the River of Seville. This day Martin Alonso with the *Pinta*, which was a fast sailor, did not wait for the others because he said to the Admiral from his caravel, that he had seen a great number of birds go toward the west, and that night he hoped to see land, and for that reason he was sailing so fast. A large dark cloud appeared to the north, which is a sign that land is near.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 19.

He sailed on his way and during the day and night went 25 leagues, because it was very calm: he wrote 22 leagues. This day at 10 o'clock a pelican came to the ship and another came in the afternoon. These birds are not accustomed to go 20 leagues from land. There were slight rains without wind, which is a certain indication of land. The Admiral did not wish to delay, beating about in order to find out if there was land, but he was sure that toward the north and toward the south there were some islands, as in fact there were, and he was going between them: because it was his desire to go forward toward the Indies and the weather is pleasant; as, God pleasing, in returning, everything would be seen. These are his words . . . Here the pilots discovered their location. The *Niña's* pilot found himself 440 leagues from the Canaries. The *Pinta's* 420 leagues, and the pilot of the vessel, upon which was the Admiral, exactly 400.¹

¹ "He consulted with and satisfied them all, always taking the lowest number, that they might not become discouraged, as the farther distant they saw themselves from Spain the greater anguish and perturbation they felt; and each hour their murmurs increased and the more they considered each of the signs they saw, notwithstanding those they had seen of those birds immediately gave them hope; but as the land never appeared they presently believed nothing, concluding from those signs since they failed, that they were going through another world whence they would never return."—Las Casas, *Historia*, chap. xxxvi.

² "The distance which the Admiral marked is exact."—Navarrete.

If, on the 17th, he had run 370 leagues, the distance was *not* exact, since on the 18th he had made 55 leagues and on the 19th 25 more, a total of 450 leagues.

The reader will remember that this meridian of 370 leagues west of Hierro very nearly marks the place of no variation of the needle, as well as the place where the Sargasso Sea was first entered. It may have been mentioned by Columbus as a possible dividing line between Spain and Portugal. At all events, the fact that in the treaty of Tordesillas, made June 7, 1494, the line of demarcation was drawn 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands—although these are several degrees east of Hierro—seems significant. Columbus himself, however, never recognised this line.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 20.

He sailed this day to the west, quarter north-west and half the quarter [*á la media partida*] because the winds changed many times with the calm: they went as much as 7 or 8 leagues. Two pelicans came to the ship, and afterwards another which was an indication that land was near: and they saw a great deal of grass, although the previous day they had not seen any. They took a bird with their hands which was like a jay: it was a river-bird and not a sea-bird and had feet like a gull. At dawn two or three small land birds came singing to the ships: and afterwards disappeared before sunrise. Afterwards a pelican came from the west-north-west and went to the south-east, which was an indication that it left land to the west-north-west, because these birds sleep on land and in the morning they go to the sea in search of food, and do not go 20 leagues from land.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 21.

Most of that day it was calm, and afterwards there was some wind. They went on their way and during both the day and night did not make as much as 13 leagues. At dawn they found so much grass that the sea appeared to be coagulated with it and it came from the west. They saw a pelican. The sea was very calm like a river and the breezes the best in the world. They saw a whale which is an indication that they were near land, because they always remain near it.¹

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 22.

They sailed west-north-west, more or less, inclining to one side and the other. They went about 30 leagues. They saw almost no grass. They saw some petrels [*pardelas*] and another bird. The Admiral says here: "This contrary wind was very necessary to me, because my people were becoming very much excited, as they thought that on those seas no winds blew in order to return to Spain." For a part of the day there was no grass, afterwards it was very thick.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 23.

He sailed to the north-west and at times to the north quarter and at times on his course, which was to the west, and they went as much as 22 leagues. They saw a turtle dove and a pelican, and another small river-bird and other white birds. There was a great deal of grass and they found craw-fish in it, and as the sea was calm and quiet the people murmured, saying that, since there was not much sea in that region, the wind would never blow for the return to Spain: but afterwards the sea

¹ September 21. Las Casas says, in addition:

"This grass sometimes cheered them [the crew], believing that they would soon see land, sometimes made them almost despair, fearing to strike upon some rock in it, and sometimes those who were steering the ship turned in order not to enter it, because it was so thick that it appeared to retard the vessels."

rose greatly and without wind, which terrified them, because of which the Admiral says here: "So that the high sea was very necessary to me, as it came to pass once before in the time when the Jews went out of Egypt with Moses, who took them from captivity."

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 24.

He sailed on his course to the west day and night, and they went about 14½ leagues. He noted 12. A pelican came to the ship and they saw many petrels.¹

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 25.

It was very calm this day and afterwards the wind blew: and they went on their course to the west until night. The Admiral talked with Martin Alonso Pinzón, Captain of the other caravel *Pinta*, in regard to a chart which he had sent to Martin Alonso on his caravel three days before, where, as it appears, the Admiral had drawn certain islands in that sea,²

¹ Las Casas adds, under this date of September 24:

"The more God showed them manifest signs of its being impossible that they were far from land, the more their impatience and inconstancy increased, and the more indignant they became against Christopher Columbus. In all the day and night, those who were awake and were able to get together never ceased to talk with each other in circles, murmuring and considering that they would not be able to return. For this they said that it was a great madness and homicidal on their part, to venture their lives in following out the madness of a foreigner, who, to make himself a great Lord had risked his life, and now saw himself and all of them in great exigency and was deceiving so many people: especially as his proposition or dream had been contradicted by so many great and lettered men, and considered as vain and foolish: and that it was enough to excuse themselves from whatever might be done in the matter, that they had arrived where men had never dared to navigate, and that they were not obliged to go to the end of the world, especially as, if they delayed more, they would not be able to have provisions to return. Some went farther, saying, that if he persisted in going onward, that the best thing of all was to throw him into the sea some night, publishing that he had fallen in taking the position of the star with his quadrant or astrolabe, and that as he was a foreigner, little or no account would be asked of the matter, but rather there would be a great many to affirm that God had given him his deserts on account of his rashness. In these and similar occupations they spent the time, day and night, and the Pinzóns, who were the captains and at the head of all the people, had to give place to them; and as all the other sailors were natives and citizens of Palos and Moguel, they all went to them [the Pinzóns] and made cause with them. Of these Pinzóns Christopher Columbus complained greatly and of the trouble they had given him."

Las Casas then tells how Columbus cheered the sailors and encouraged them, "laughing with them while he was weeping at heart."

² September 25. Las Casas describes the sending of the chart in the same terms, and continues:

"This chart is the one which Paul, the Florentine physician, sent, which I have in my possession with other things belonging to the Admiral himself, who discovered these Indies, and writings in his own hand which fell to my possession: on it [the chart] he painted for him many islands and the main-land, which were the beginning of India, and in that vicinity the dominions of the Great Khan, telling him of the riches and felicity of gold and pearls and precious stones of those realms, . . . and by the credit which Christopher Columbus gave to the said Paul, the physician, he offered to the said Sovereigns to discover the realms of the Great Khan, and the riches, gold, and precious stones and spices which there were in them."

There seems to us no doubt that the chart was one constructed by Columbus, resembling and perhaps based upon the chart sent him by Paolo Toscanelli, the Florentine savant. Las Casas tells us that Columbus himself had drawn upon the chart

and Martin Alonso said that they were in that region, and the Admiral replied that it appeared so to him: but since they had not encountered them, it must have been caused by the currents which had continually forced the ships to the north-east and because they had not gone as far as the pilots said: and then having arrived at this conclusion the Admiral told Martin Alonso to send him the said chart and it being sent by a cord the Admiral began to mark out places upon it with his pilot and sailors. At sunset Martin Alonso mounted in the stern of his ship and with great joy called to the Admiral, begging a reward from him as he saw land: and when the Admiral heard him affirm this, he says that he commenced on his knees to give thanks to Our Lord, and Martin Alonso said *Gloria in Excelsis Deo* with his people: the Admiral's people did the same and the people on the *Niña* all ascended the mast and rigging: and all affirmed that it was land and it appeared so to the Admiral, and that it might be 25 leagues away. They all affirmed until night that it was land. The Admiral ordered that the course, which was to the west, should be changed and that they should all go to the south-west, where the land had appeared. That day they went to the west about $4\frac{1}{2}$ leagues; and during the night 17 leagues to the south-east which makes 21 leagues; although he told the people 13 leagues, because he always pretended to the people that he was making little headway, that the journey might not appear long to them. So that he wrote two courses for that voyage, the shorter was the false course and the longer the true one. The sea was very calm for which reason many sailors began to swim. They saw many dorados and other fish.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 26.

He sailed on his course to the west, until after mid-day. Then they went to the south-west until they learned that what they had said was land was only the sky. They went 31 leagues during the day and night and he computed for the people 24. The sea was like a river, the breezes pleasant and very mild.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 27.

He sailed on his course to the west, and went during the day and night 24 leagues: he told the people 20 leagues: they saw many dorados, killed one and saw a ring-tail.

certain islands, therefore it was not simply a reproduction of the Toscanelli map. The attempt, renewed in these latter days, to show that Columbus had this knowledge of the Western Sea from a ship-wrecked pilot, insists that this chart was in fact the pilot's chart. But how could a pilot, driven helplessly by wind and wave, have located even approximately upon a map the position of the islands to which he was driven? He could not, even if skilled in the art of navigation, have taken accurate observations. Under date of October 3 he says in his *Journal* that he had "information about certain islands in that region," and that he believed they lay behind him: in other words, he had already passed them. Now, if the pilot story was true and the islands on the chart were the ones he marked, is it likely Columbus would have permitted himself to pass beyond? The pilot could have known of no lands

Christopher Columbus

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 28.

He sailed on his course to the west. They went in a calm, 14 leagues during the day and night. He computed 13. They found little grass. They took two dorados and more were taken on the other ships.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 29.

He sailed on his course to the west. They went 24 leagues and he told the people 21. Because of calms which befell them they went only a short distance during the day and night. They saw a bird which is called a frigate-pelican which makes the pelicans yield up what they have eaten in order to eat it himself, and obtains his sustenance in that manner only. It is a sea-bird but does not rest on the sea nor go 20 leagues from land. There are many of these birds on the Cape Verde Islands. Afterwards they saw two pelicans. The breezes were very pleasing and delightful and he says that only the song of the nightingale was lacking: and the sea was smooth as a river. In three times afterwards three pelicans appeared and a frigate-pelican. They saw a great deal of grass.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 30.

He sailed on his course to the west, and went 14 leagues during the day and night on account of the calms. He counted 11. Four ring-tails came to the ship, which is a great indication of land, because so many birds of one kind together is a sign that they are not astray or lost. They saw four pelicans in two different times and much grass. Nota: that "the stars which are called the guards when night falls are near the arm in the west, and at dawn they are on the line below the arm to the north-east, as it appears that during all the night they do not go more than three lines, which are nine hours, and this each night." The Admiral says this here. Also at nightfall the needles decline to the north-west one quarter, and at dawn they are exactly in the direction of the North Star: by which it appears that the North Star moves the same as the other stars and the needles always indicate the truth.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 1.

He sailed on his course to the west. They went 25 leagues and he computed to the people 20 leagues. They had a great shower. To-day the pilot of the Admiral at the coming of day feared that they had gone from the island of Hierro, 578 leagues westward to this place. The lesser account which the Admiral showed to the people was 584 leagues; but the true account, which the Admiral judged to be correct and kept secret, was 707 leagues.

westward of the islands he is reported to have visited, and therefore Columbus, if he was cheerfully passing beyond these islands, was in search of something which could not have been revealed to him by any pilot.

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TUESDAY, OCTOBER 2.

He sailed on his way to the west 30 leagues during the day and night, and told the people about 30 leagues; with the sea continually calm and favourable. *Many thanks be given God*, said the Admiral here. Grass came from the east to the west, contrary to what had happened before. Many fish appeared: one was killed, They saw a white bird which appeared to be a gull.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 3.

He sailed on his customary route and they went 47 leagues. He told the people 40 leagues. Petrels appeared, a great quantity of grass, some very old and some very fresh, and it bore a kind of fruit, and they saw no birds. The Admiral believed that the islands he had drawn on his chart lay back of them. The Admiral says here, that he did not wish to remain beating about, the past week and those days when there were so many signs of land, although he had information about certain islands in that region,¹—in order not to be delayed, as his object was to reach the Indies: and if he had delayed, he says it would not have been good judgment.²

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 4.

He sailed on his way to the west and they went during the day and night 63 leagues. He told the people 46 leagues. More than 40 petrels came to the ship together, and two pelicans, and a youth on board the caravel hit one with a stone. A frigate-pelican came to the vessel and a white bird like a gull.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 5.

He sailed on his course, going about 11 miles an hour. They went about 57 leagues during the day and night, as the wind abated somewhat at night. He counted to his people 45 leagues. The sea was pleasant and

¹ This passage might be quoted by the advocates of the Pilot's story to uphold their contention, but, unfortunately, in the same sentence Columbus declares his object was to reach the Indies, and, consequently, the "certain islands" were not his goal. To be of any force, the Pilot story requires Columbus to have a secret knowledge of these islands, but the reader will notice from our next note that all the pilots on this expedition believed certain islands lay near there. They were the islands of tradition, of speculative knowledge. And of these even the common people had knowledge, as much knowledge as Columbus or as Toscanelli before him, or as the mythical Pilot of Huelva.

² October 3. Las Casas here adds:

"As he did not wish to beat about on all sides in search of the islands which the pilots believed lay near there, more especially Martin Alonso, on account of the chart which Columbus had sent to his caravel for him to see,—they all commenced to mutiny: and the disagreement would have gone farther if God had not put out His hand as usual, showing them immediately new signs of being near land, because neither the bland words, nor prayers nor prudent reasons of Christopher Columbus were any longer enough to quiet them and persuade them to persevere."

calm. Many thanks, he says, be given to God. The breeze was very soft and temperate. No grass, many petrels. Many flying-fish flew on to the ship.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 6.

He sailed on his course to the west and they went 40 leagues during the day and night. He told the people 33 leagues. This night, Martin Alonso said that it would be well to sail to the south-west, quarter west [*á la cuarta del Oeste, á la parte del Sudueste*]. And it appeared to the Admiral that Martin Alonso did not say this in order to go to the island of Cipango. And the Admiral saw that if they missed their way, they would not be able to find land so quickly, and that it was better to go to the continental land at once, and afterwards to the islands.¹

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 7.

He sailed on his way to the west. They went 12 miles per hour for two hours, and afterwards 8 miles per hour, and they went 23 leagues up to one hour after sunrise: he told the people 18.² On this day at sunrise, as they were all sailing as fast as possible in order to see land first and enjoy the reward which the Sovereigns had promised to whomever should first see land, the caravel *Niña* which was ahead on account of being a fast sailor, raised a banner on top of the mast and fired a lombard as a signal that they saw land, because the Admiral had ordered this to be done. He had also ordered that the vessels should all unite at sunrise and sunset, because these two times are more suitable for seeing a long distance on account of the disappearance of the mists. As in the afternoon the people on the *Niña* did not see land, which they thought they had seen and as a great multitude of birds passed from the north to the south-west, for which cause it was reasonable to believe that they were going to sleep on land or were perhaps flying from winter which must be approaching in the countries from whence they came, as the Admiral knew that the Portuguese discovered the greater part of the islands in their possession by the birds:— For these reasons the Admiral resolved to change his course from the west, and turn his prow to the west-south-west, with the determination of pursuing that course for two days. He began this course one hour before sunset. During all the night they went about 5 leagues, and 23 during the day: they went in all 28 leagues during the night and day.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 8.

He sailed to the west-south-west and they went about 11½ or 12 leagues

¹ October 6. Las Casas tells of Martin Alonso's wishing to change the course, and that the Admiral would not, and adds:

" . . . which had vexed them all and Columbus not doing what they wished, they then murmured."

² October 7. " . . . as in the afternoon the land which the people on the *Niña* reported was not seen, and there had been light, swift-moving clouds, from which those who were always distrustful became discouraged and dismayed anew."

and from time to time it appears that they went 15 miles per hour during the night, if the account is not mendacious.¹ The sea was like the River of Seville, thanks to God, says the Admiral. The breezes were very soft as at Seville in April and it is a pleasure to be there, they are so fragrant. The grass appeared very fresh. There were many small land-birds and they took one which was flying to the south-west. There were jays, ducks, and a pelican.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 9.

He sailed to the south-west and went five leagues. The wind changed and he ran to the west, quarter north-west and went four leagues. Afterwards in all he went 11 leagues by day and 20½ leagues by day and night. He told the people 17 leagues. All night they heard birds passing.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 10.

He sailed to the west-south-west and they went at the rate of 10 miles per hour and at times 12, and sometimes 7, and during the day and night they made 59 leagues. He told the people 44 leagues and no more. Here the people could no longer suffer the journey. They complained of the long voyage; but the Admiral encouraged them as well as he was able, giving them good hope of the benefits they would receive, and adding that for the rest it was useless to complain since he had come in search of the Indies, and thus he must pursue his journey until he found them, with the aid of our Lord.²

¹ October 8. Las Casas, in his *Historia*, gives the same account, relating how the sailors rejoiced in the sight of the birds, and adds:

"And as they [the birds] were all going to the south-west and it did not appear they would go very far to rest: they [the crew] followed that course which the birds were taking with more good-will and cheerfulness."

Las Casas does not insert in the *Historia*, in speaking of the speed of the vessels, the words, "if the account is not mendacious."

² October 10. The *Historia* agrees in regard to the distances, directions, etc., and then adds:

"When the crew saw that the signs of the birds amounted to nothing . . . they all commenced to reiterate their importunities and distrustful quarrels, and to insist upon their bold petitions, crying out for a shameful turning about and entirely relinquishing the pleasure and joy which God had prepared for them within the space of thirty hours. . . . But the minister whom God was directing for this affair did not yield to such miserable cowardice, but with renewed will, with greater freedom of spirit, with a keener hope, with softer and more pleasing words, exhortations and greater offers, encouraged them and animated them to go forward, and to persevere, adding also that for the rest it was useless to complain, since his object and that of the Sovereigns *had been* and *was* to come and discover in that Western Ocean, the Indies, and they [the crew] had been willing to accompany him for that purpose, and that therefore he intended to keep on in his voyage with the aid of our Lord until he found them, and that he was certain they were nearer them [the Indies] than they thought."

Here is the foundation and the only foundation for the story of the mutiny. The people murmured, as they had done before, and as sailors on unknown expeditions always have murmured. But between discontent and mutiny there is a vast gulf. The mutiny story requires for its action a crew in revolt against its commander, and a commander capitulating with a mutinous crew, and agreeing to return if within

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 11.

He sailed to the west-south-west. They had a much higher sea than they had had in all the voyage. They saw petrels and a green branch near the ship. Those on the caravel *Pinta* saw a reed and a stick and they took another small stick formed as it appeared with iron, and a piece of a reed and other grass which grows on land, and a small board. Those on the caravel *Niña* also saw other indications of land and a little branch full of dog-roses. With these signs every one breathed and rejoiced. They went 27 leagues during this day up to sunset.

After sunset he sailed on his first course to the west. They went 12 miles each hour and up to two hours after midnight they went about 90 miles which are $22\frac{1}{2}$ leagues. And because the caravel *Pinta* was the best sailor and was going ahead of the Admiral, land was discovered by her people and the signs which the Admiral had ordered were made. A sailor called Rodrigo de Traina saw this land first, although the Admiral at 10 o'clock at night being in the stern forecastle [*castillo de popa*] saw a light,¹ but it was so concealed that he would not declare it to be land: but he called Pero Gutierrez Groom of the Chamber of the King, and said to him that it appeared to be a light, and asked him to look at it: and he did so and saw it. He also told Rodrigo Sanchez de Segovia, whom the King and Queen sent with the fleet as Inspector, who saw nothing because he was not where he could see it. After the Admiral told it, it was seen once or twice, and it was like a small wax candle which rose and fell, which hardly appeared to be an indication of land. But the Admiral was certain that they were near land. For this reason, when they said the *Salve* which all the sailors are in the habit of saying and singing in their way and they three days he does not find land. The *Journal* itself disposes of this story. Three days before land was seen, October 8, there is no mention of any unusual discontent, the vessels were flying through the water faster than ever, the air was fragrant and soft as that of Seville, the sea was like the water of the Guadalquivir, ducks and other land-birds were passing over their heads and the crew amused themselves in catching them. On the day of the murmuring, October 10, Columbus simply told the men that he would go on in his voyage until he found the object of his search. This is not the language of an intimidated commander parleying with a mutinous crew. Neither Las Casas nor Ferdinand Columbus mentions this story. Oviedo first gives it, and his authority is not reliable.

Nevertheless, as the reader knows, Columbus was, and had been from the time of their departure from the Canaries, perpetually harassed by his crew, by their natural fears and by artificial fears which he believed were suggested and encouraged by the Pinzóns. Perhaps no fleet's commander ever suffered more from long-continued murmurings of discontent, but there is no evidence that actual mutiny occurred.

¹ Some have explained the light as a torch waved by some native woman on the shore guiding her husband's fishing-boat as he was making his way homeward late at night.

In the instructions given by the Admiral to Antonio de Torres, January 30, 1494, on his return after the second voyage, in speaking of the danger from fire, Columbus intimates that the Indians were constantly going about at night with burning pieces of wood. However this may be, Columbus claimed and obtained the reward of 10,000 maravedis—about \$61 in our money—for having first discovered land.

were all assembled together, the Admiral implored and admonished them to guard the stern forecastle well and search diligently for land and said that to whomever should first see land he would then give a silk doublet, besides the other gifts which the Sovereigns had promised them, which was an annuity of 10,000 maravedis to whomever should first see land. At two hours after midnight the land appeared, from which they were about two leagues distant. They lowered all the sails and remained with the cross-jack-sail,¹ which is the great sail without bonnets, and lay to, standing off and on until the day, Friday, when they reached a small island of the Lucayas, which is called in the language of the Indians, *Guanahani*.²

¹ "This was a sail which was used only in stormy weather."—Navarrete.

It was evidently the purpose of Columbus to keep close to the place where he believed he himself had seen land, and to this end he was standing off and on and carrying scarcely any sail, the sea being the highest he had experienced on the entire voyage. The latter fact is important as bearing on the subject of the landing-place. It would have been practically impossible for him to have landed on the eastern side of any island with such a sea.


² Here, to make the reading clear, the events should now be understood to come under the date of October 12, although the *Journal* includes them under the previous date.

We believe this island to be Watling Island, one of the Bahamas, in latitude 24° 06' north, and in longitude 74° 06' west of Greenwich. The reader will find in an accompanying chapter the reasons for this identification.

The Columbian landfall occurred on Friday, October 12 [old style], 1492. To make the recurrence of this date correspond with the true or astronomical date, we must drop nine days from our calendar. This makes the anniversary of the discovery fall on October 21.

The *Historia* describes, under date of October 11, the finding of sticks, dog-rose, and birds, as in the *Journal*, and adds:

"Christopher Columbus knew that he must then be very near land, for one reason, because of the manifest signs, and, for the other reason, because of the distance he knew he had gone from the Canaries to these regions; because he always had it in mind, through whatever occasion or conjecture it might have become his opinion, that having navigated from the island of Hierro through this Ocean-Sea 750 leagues, a little more or less, he must find land. After night-fall, at the time they said the *Salve*, according to the sailors' custom, he gave a talk to all the people and sailors,—very merry and pleasant,—bringing to their attention the favours which God had shown him and all of them on that journey, in giving them so calm a sea, such soft and good winds, such tranquillity of weather without tempests or anxieties, such as commonly befall those who navigate in the sea; and as he hoped in the mercy of God that before many hours land must be seen, he begged them earnestly to keep a very good guard that night in the forward forecastle [*castilla de proa*], watching and being very much on guard, in order to look for land more closely than they had done [since he gave to each Captain of each vessel on leaving the Canaries instructions—that is to say—that having navigated 700 leagues to the west without having discovered land, they should not go on under sail after midnight, which rule of sailing until then they had not observed, and he had dissimulated to them so as not to disturb them on account of the anxiety they felt to see land], because he had great confidence in our Lord that that night they must be very near land, or perhaps would see it: and he told each one to be diligent in watching so as to see it first, because, besides the grant of 10,000 maravedis which the Queen had conceded to the first who should see it, he promised to give him at once a silk doublet. This night, after sunset, he navigated to the West, the way he had always followed from the Canaries, and went 12 miles an hour, and until two o'clock after midnight, they went about 90 miles, which were twenty-two leagues and a half. Christopher Columbus being in the stern forecastle, with his eyes fixed more keenly ahead than any other, as being the one who felt most anxiety to see land, because it was most incumbent upon him,—saw a light, although so shut in and dim that he did not wish to affirm that it was land, but he

Then they saw naked people and the Admiral landed in the armed boat with Martin Alonso Pinzón and Vincente Yañez, his brother, who was captain of the *Niña*. The Admiral took the royal banner and the two captains had two banners of the Verde Cruz, which the Admiral carried on all the ships as a sign, with an F. and a Y. The crown of the Sovereigns surmounted each letter and one was one side of the  and the other the other side. Having landed they saw very green trees and much water and many fruits of different kinds. The Admiral called the two captains and the others who landed and Rodrigo Descovedo, Notary of all the Fleet, and Rodrigo Sanchez of Segovia, and told them to bear him witness and testify that he, in the presence of them all, was taking, as in fact he took possession of the said isle, for the King and for the Queen, his Lords, making the protestations which were required, as contained more at length in the depositions which were made there in writing.¹ Then many of the people of the island gathered there. The following is in the exact words

secretly called Pero Gutierrez, Groom of the Chamber [*'repostero de estrados'*], of the King, and told him that it appeared to be a light and that he should look and see what he thought, and he saw it and said that it appeared to him to be a light; he also called Rodrigo Sanchez of Segovia, to whom the Sovereigns had given the charge of Inspector [Veedor] of all the fleet, but he was not able to see it. After having seen it once or twice, and he says that it was like a small candle which was raised and lowered, Christopher Columbus did not doubt but what it was really a light, and consequently believed he was near land, and so it was. And what I think in regard to it is that the Indians of those islands as they are temperate without any cold, go out or went out at night from their straw huts which were called '*bohios*,' to comply with their natural necessities, and they take a half burned stick in the hand or a little candlewood, or a pine branch, or some other very dry and resinous wood which burns like candlewood, when the night is dark, and with it they return, and in this manner it might have been the light which Christopher Columbus and the others saw three or four times. Christopher Columbus then watched very closely to see land, and advised the others who were at the prow of the ship not to be careless, and as the caravel *Pinta* upon which was Martin Alonso Pinzón, went ahead of the others as she was a faster sailer, land was seen from her which might have been about two leagues distant, at two hours after midnight, and then she made signals that it was seen, according to the instructions, which were to fire a lombard and raise the banners, and thus it appears that as land was seen two hours after midnight on Thursday, this discovery must be attributed to Friday, and consequently it was the 12th of October.

"A sailor who was called Rodrigo de Triana saw the land first, but the Sovereigns decreed that Christopher Columbus should have the 10,000 maravedis annuity, deciding that, since he had first seen the light, he had been the first to see the land.

"He received this 10,000 maravedis annuity always during all his life, and if I have not forgotten, one day, in talking with the Vice-reine of the Indies, the daughter-in-law of the same Admiral Don Christopher Columbus, the wife of his first successor, in regard to the matters relating to that voyage, she told me that it had been reserved for him from the slaughter-houses of the city of Seville, where it was always paid to him."

¹ In the *Tablas Chronologicas*, compiled by Vicente Joseph Miguel and printed at Valencia in 1680, is the following prayer said to have been uttered by Columbus on taking possession of the first land found by him in the New World:

"*Domine Deus Æternæ, & Omnipotens sacro Tuo verbo cælum, & terram, & mare creasti; benedicatur, & glorificetur nomen Tuum, laudetur Tua Maiestas, quæ dignata est per humilem screum Tuum, ut eius sacrum nomen agnoscat, & prædicetur in hac altera mundi parte.*"

"O Lord, Eternal and Almighty God, by Thy sacred word Thou hast created the heavens, the earth, and the sea; blessed and glorified be Thy name, and praised be Thy Majesty, who hath deigned to use Thy humble servant to make Thy sacred name known and proclaimed in this other part of the world."

of the Admiral in his book of his first voyage and discovery of these Indies:

"That they might feel great friendship for us [he says] and because I knew they were a people who would better be freed and converted to our Holy Faith by love than by force,—I gave them some red caps and some glass beads which they placed around their necks, and many other things of small value with which they were greatly pleased, and were so friendly to us that it was wonderful. They afterwards came swimming to the two ships where we were, and bringing us parrots and cotton thread wound in balls and spears and many other things, and they traded them with us for other things which we gave them, such as small glass beads and hawk's bells. Finally they took everything and willingly gave what things they had. Further, it appeared to me that they were a very poor people, in everything. They all go naked as their mothers gave them birth, and the women also, although I only saw one of the latter who was very young, and all those whom I saw were young men, none more than thirty years of age. They were very well built with very handsome bodies, and very good faces. Their hair was almost as coarse as horses' tails and short, and they wear it over the eyebrows, except a small quantity behind, which they wear long and never cut. Some paint themselves blackish, and they are of the colour of the inhabitants of the Canaries, neither black nor white, and some paint themselves white, some red, some whatever colour they find: and some paint their faces, some all the body, some only the eyes, and some only the nose. They do not carry arms nor know what they are, because I showed them swords and they took them by the edge and ignorantly cut themselves. They have no iron: their spears are sticks without iron, and some of them have a fish's tooth at the end and others have other things. They are all generally of good height, of pleasing appearance and well built: I saw some who had indications of wounds on their bodies, and I asked them by signs if it was that, and they showed me that other people came there from other islands near by and wished to capture them and they defended themselves: and I believed and believe, that they come here from the continental land to take them captive. They must be good servants and intelligent, as I see that they very quickly say all that is said to them, and I believe that they would easily become Christians, as it appeared to me that they had no sect. If it please our Lord, at the time of my departure, I will take six¹ of them from here to your Highnesses that

¹ As this is the first suggestion of taking away the natives, it is well to look at the motive governing the Admiral,—for henceforth he is the Admiral of the Ocean-Sea. There is no talk of slavery or involuntary servitude. The Indians are to be taken to Spain to the Sovereigns that they may learn to speak the Castilian tongue. Before he has spoken of taking them away, he has declared his belief that the natives would easily become Christians. It is true that he says they would make good servants, but how would it be possible for native inhabitants and Spaniards to associate at all unless the former were dominated by the latter? The natives were not to be sold into slavery. They were not even to be left in Spain. They were to be taken to the Sovereigns for their further disposition. Would it not be expected of an ex-

they may learn to speak. I saw no beast of any kind except parrots on this island." All are the words of the Admiral.¹

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 13.

"At dawn many of these men came to the shore, all young men as I have said and all of good height, a very handsome people. Their hair is not curly but hanging and coarse like horsehair, and all the forehead and head is very wide, more than any other race seen until now, and their eyes are very handsome and not small. And none of them are blackish but the colour of the inhabitants of the Canaries; nor should anything else be expected since this place is on a line east and west with the island of Hierro² in the Canaries. Their legs are in general very straight and they are not corpulent, but very well formed. They came to the ship with canoes, which are made from the trunk of a tree, like a long boat and all in one piece, and very wonderfully fashioned for the country, and large enough

plorer to-day if in some remote corner of the earth he found a strange race of beings, that he should bring back with him specimens, particularly if the condition suggested a return to those regions and the establishment therein of colonies? We shall shortly see that the Indians were not unwilling captives.

¹ Las Casas, in chapter xl., proceeds to tell about the new land, saying that he is about to speak of Christopher Columbus in another manner and add to his name the dignity of Admiral, which he had so justly won. He then gives a short description of the island under the name of *Guanahani*, and tells of the landing of the Admiral and the others with the banners of the "verde cruz." He says they sprang on land and all fell on their knees, some shedding tears, and gave thanks to the All-Powerful God, who had brought them to safety and shown them some of the fruits which they had been struggling and toiling for and desiring. Las Casas then says:

"Who will be able to express and value the rejoicing and jubilation of all, full of incomparable delight and inestimable joy, in the midst of the confusion in which they found themselves, because they had not believed, but had rather resisted and injured the constant and patient Columbus? Who will signify the reverence they paid to him? The pardon they begged of him with tears? The offers to serve him all their lives which they made him? And finally the caresses, honours, and favours, which they gave him, the obedience and subjection which they promised him? They were almost beside themselves to content him, placate him and congratulate him: and he, with tears embraced them, pardoned them, and told them to refer everything to God: there all the people who were with him received him as Admiral and Viceroy and Governor of the Sovereigns of Castile, and they gave him obedience, as being a person who represented royalty, with so much rejoicing and merriment, that it will be better to leave the estimation of it to the discretion of the prudent reader, than to desire to manifest it by insufficient words."

We have some reason to believe that at least during his first voyage Christopher Columbus wore a beard. In the *Historia*, Las Casas, quoting from the original *Journal*, thus describes the action of the natives of Guanahani when first brought into contact with the Europeans:

"The Indians, who were present in large numbers looking at the Christians, were astonished at all these actions and frightened by their beards, by their whiteness and by their clothing. They went to the bearded men, especially to the Admiral, as by the eminence and authority of his person and also by his being clothed in fine, scarlet cloth, they judged him to be the principal, and they reached out to their beards with their hands, wondering at them as they [the Indians] never have them, and viewing very attentively the whiteness of their hands and faces."

² Hierro, or Ferro, is in latitude 27° 45' north. Therefore the Admiral was out something over three degrees in his calculations.

so that 40 or 45 men came in some of them, and others were smaller, some so small that only one man came in them. They rowed with a paddle [*como de fornero*] and go wonderfully well; and if they upset, then they all commence to swim and bail them out with gourds, which they carry. They brought balls of spun cotton and parrots and spears and other small things which it would be tedious to write about, and gave everything for whatever might be given them. And I was attentive and sought to learn whether they had gold¹ and I saw that some of them wore a small piece suspended from a hole they have in the nose: and I was able to understand by signs that, going to the south or going around the island to the south, there was a King who had large vessels of gold and who had a great deal of it. I tried to have them go there and afterward saw that they were not interested in going. I determined to wait until afternoon of the next day and then leave for the south-west, for according to what many of them showed me, they said that there was land to the south and to the south-west and to the north-west: and that these people from the north-west came to fight them many times and thus to go to the south-west in search of gold and precious stones.² This island is very large and very level and

¹ Here occurs for the first time that magic word *gold*, for which henceforth the Admiral is to search with keen eye and tireless energy: gold, every grain of which is to be dug with wickedness and cruelty, and whose face is to shine through the tears and woes of humanity.

² At this point in the *Historia*, Las Casas, writing fifty years afterward and in all the heat which burned in his soul over the cruelties practised on the Indians by the Spaniards, explains the eagerness with which the Admiral continued to search for riches. Even in his anger he is just toward Columbus and acquits him of being other than the unconscious agent of evil. Las Casas hated with a righteous hatred all things, animate and inanimate, kings and creatures, stocks and stones, which had directly or indirectly anything to do with human slavery.

"It must here be said as future events are considered, and as the Admiral is seen to have suffered in the Court such great and such vehement opposition, and as finally the Queen, against the opinion and judgment of the members of her Council and of all the Court, determined to spend the little which she spent [although it then appeared a great deal as told above], that these persons were always thenceforward his stubborn and powerful adversaries, depreciating and injuring his affairs, refusing to believe that these countries had gold or anything else profitable, and especially after seeing that the Sovereigns were spending a large sum of money on the other voyages and that they received no profit, they persuaded their Highnesses to relinquish the prosecution of this undertaking, because, according to what they understood, they would be obliged to waste and expend money in it. So that the Admiral suffered many more trials and tribulations and more powerful oppositions, without comparison, afterwards in the prosecution of the affair, even than he suffered before the Sovereigns determined to favour and aid him, as will appear henceforward. For this cause the Admiral never thought, never watched, never laboured in anything else than trying to bring about the receipt of profits and revenues for the Sovereigns, fearing always that such a great enterprise would be prevented, because he saw that if the sovereigns became tired of making expenditures, or became displeased, they would not carry it to an end. On this account the said Admiral made more haste than he should in bringing it about that the Sovereigns should prematurely begin to have revenues and royal profits, being a man despised and a foreigner [as he many times complained to the Catholic Sovereigns themselves in his letters], and as he had terrible adversaries near the ears of the Royal persons, who always opposed him: but not having much perspicacity and foresight of the evils which might follow, as, indeed, they did follow, for the prevention of which all the prosecution and preservation of the affair should have been risked, going little by little and fearing more from it than temporal loss ought to be feared; and ignoring also what he should not have ignored

has very green trees and many waters and a very large lake in the centre, without any mountain, and all so green that it is a pleasure to behold it. The people are very mild and on account of desiring our things, believing that they will not be given them without they give something, and they have nothing,—they take what they can, and then throw themselves into the water and swim. But they give all they have for whatever thing may be given them. They traded for even pieces of pitchers and broken glasses so that I saw 16 balls of cotton given for three *ceotis*¹ of Portugal which are worth one blanca of Castile, and in the balls there would be more than an arroba of spun cotton. I forbade this and would not allow anything to be taken unless I should order everything taken for your Highnesses if there is a quantity. It [cotton] grows here on this island, but on account of brevity of time I could not give an account of everything; and also the gold which they wear hanging at the nose is found here. But in order not to lose time I wish to go and see if I can encounter the island of Cipango.² Now, as it was night, all went to land with their canoes."

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 14.

"At dawn, I ordered the ship's small boat prepared and the boats belonging to the caravels and went along the island toward the north-north-east to see the other part of it, which was the opposite part from the east³ and also to see the villages: and I saw then two or three, and the people all came to the shore calling us and giving thanks to God; some brought

concerning divine and natural justice, and the upright judgment of reason,—he introduced and commenced to establish such beginnings, and sowed such seeds from which originated and grew such deadly and pestilential herbs producing from themselves such deep roots, that it has been enough to destroy and devastate all these Indies, without human power being enough to prevent or overcome such supreme and irreparable injuries.

"I do not doubt that if the Admiral had believed that such pernicious harm would follow as did follow, and had known as much of the simple conclusions of natural and divine right as he knew of cosmography and other human sciences, that he would never have dared to introduce nor begin a thing which must occasion such calamitous injuries, because *no one will be able to deny his being a good and Christian man*: but the judgments of God are most profound, and no man can or should wish to understand them."

¹ "The *ceuti*, or *cepi*, was a coin of Ceuta employed in Portugal."—Navarrete.

² According to M. Chalumeau de Verneuil, the French translator of Navarrete, there were two kinds of blancas used in Castile: the one worth half a maravedi, and therefore requiring 272 to make the value of the present Spanish dollar: the other worth five deniers, or a little less than two farthings.

³ The danger of explaining something one does not understand is here beautifully illustrated. The only previous English translation of the *Journal* was made by Samuel Kettell and published at Boston in 1827. Under this date he translates this passage: "In the morning I ordered the boats to be got ready and coasted along the Island toward the N.N.E. to examine that part of it, we having landed first at the Eastern part." Sixty-five years afterward, an enterprising American newspaper having read this paragraph, erected a monument on what was intended to be as nearly as possible the exact place of landing, not knowing that the phrase, "we having landed first at the Eastern part," was entirely gratuitous, and that it would have been an impossible landfall, in view of the previous sentence of the Admiral, that the sea was heavier than any they had experienced in all the voyage.

us water, others brought other things to eat. Others when they saw that I did not care to land threw themselves into the sea and came swimming and we understood that they asked us if we came from heaven. An old man came in to the boat and the others called loudly to all the men and women: *Come and see the men who came from heaven: bring them something to eat and to drink.* Many came and many women, each one with something, giving thanks to God, throwing themselves on the ground and lifting their hands toward heaven, and afterwards they called loudly to us to go to land; but I was afraid because of seeing a great reef of rocks which encircles all that island and the water is deep within and forms a port for as many ships as there are in Christendom: and the entrance to it is very tortuous. It is true there are some shoals in it, but the sea does not move any more than in a well. And I went this morning in order to see all this, that I might be able to give an account of everything to your Highnesses and also to see where I might be able to build a fortress, and I saw a piece of land formed like an island, although it is not one, on which there were six houses, but which could be made an island in two days.² Although I do not believe it to be necessary, because this people are very simple in matters of arms, as your Highnesses will see by the *seven which I took captive to be carried along and learn our speech and then be returned to their country.*³ But when your Highnesses order it, all can be taken, and carried to Castile

¹ The first thought of the Indians on seeing the Europeans was that they came from heaven, and therefore were immortal. The natives of Española soon learned that the white men were subject to pain, disease, and death, like themselves. But the first conception and its subsequent dissipation were common to each introduction of the white men in the several islands.

Charlevoix relates that the Indians of Puerto Rico, when the Spaniards first attempted the colonisation of that island, assured themselves concerning the immortality of their unwelcome visitors in the following positive manner: A young Spaniard by the name of Salzedo having tarried for a few days in the home of a native cacique called Brayau, was persuaded on his departure to accept the services of some of his young men as guides and burden-bearers. When they came to a certain river, one of the guides, instructed by Brayau, offered himself as a vehicle to bear the youth across the stream. Arrived in the middle, his porter let him slip from his shoulders, and, with the aid of his companions, held the head of the Spaniard beneath the water until he breathed no more. Then the Indians carried the body to the shore and began to investigate the question of the white man's immortality. They bowed before him and inquired how he did. They prostrated themselves before him and begged his pardon for having perhaps inconvenienced him by leaving his head so long under the water. Then they proceeded to weep and to wail as men greatly afflicted. They turned the body over and over, demanding some sign of life. For three days they yielded to a curiosity which was only satisfied by the unmistakable signs that the Spaniard had been a mortal like themselves. When the report was made to Brayau and he had himself examined the corpse, he and his brother caciques discovering that the immortality of their conquerors was not real but pretended, resolved to deliver themselves from their enemies, and they duly massacred no less than a hundred of the Castilians.

² The peculiar formation described above is one of the features by which, as we shall see in the following chapter, Watling Island is identified as the landfall.

³ The reader will observe that the Indians taken by the Admiral were to be re-

or held captives on the island itself, because with 50 men all can be subjugated and made to do everything which is desired. Then, near the said small island, there were orchards of trees, the most beautiful that I saw, and as green and with leaves like those of Castile in the months of April and May, and there was much water. I saw all that harbour and afterward I returned to the ship and made sail and saw so many islands that I could not decide which to visit first, and those men whom I had taken, told me by signs, that there were many, and so many that they could not be numbered, and they enumerated by their names more than one hundred. Therefore I looked for the largest and determined to go to it, and this I am doing. It may be five leagues distant from this island of San Salvador, and some of the others are farther from it, some not as far. All are very level without mountains and very fertile and all inhabited, and the inhabitants make war against each other although they are very simple and fine looking men."¹

MONDAY, OCTOBER 15.

"I had been standing off and on this night for fear of not reaching land to anchor before morning, not knowing whether the coast was free from shoals or not, and so as to be able to hoist the sails at dawn. And as the island might be more than five leagues distant, rather it was about seven leagues, and the tide detained me, it was about mid-day when I reached the said island; and I found that the side which is toward San Salvador runs north and south a distance of five leagues, and the other side which I followed extended east and west a distance of more than ten leagues. And

turned to their own country. If there is a suggestion of slavery in the succeeding sentence, the act would be that of the Sovereigns and not of Columbus.

In the *Historia* Las Casas charges the Admiral with wrong-doing in taking away the Indians, but the reader must remember the great Apostle of the Indians is speaking in the light of many years' experience of the evils of slavery and the cruelty of the Spaniards. He says:

"It will be well to point out two things here: one, how manifest appears the disposition and natural promptitude which those people possessed to receive our Holy Faith, and to be endowed and imbued with the Christian religion and with all virtuous customs, if they were treated with love and charity and meekness, and how great would have been the fruit which God would have gathered from them; the second, how far the Admiral was from rightly conjecturing the mark and point of divine and natural justice, and that which, according to this justice, the Sovereigns and he were obliged to do with these people, since he so lightly determined to say, that the Sovereigns could take all the Indians, who were inhabitants of and natural dwellers upon those islands, to Castile, or keep them captives in the country itself, etc. Certainly he was very distant from the object which God and His Church intended on his voyage, to which, the discovery of all this sphere and whatever there may be in it and near it, to be disposed of, must be ordered and directed.

"From those Indians who entered the boats with so much confidence, as to see and adore people from heaven, the Admiral detained seven, and came away to the ship with them. By what appeared afterward, as when they were able to flee, they fled, it shows that he detained them against their will, and if these Indians were married and had wives and children to maintain, and other necessities, how could this violence be excused?"

¹ As we shall follow closely the steps of the Admiral in our chapter on "The Landfall," we do not make reference here to the special stages of his course.

as from this island I saw another larger one to the west, I hoisted the sails in order to go all that day until night, because I would not have been able to go even as far as the point at the west: to this island I gave the name of the *Isla de Santa Maria de la Concepcion*, and almost at sunset I anchored near the said Cape to learn if there was gold there, because the natives whom I had caused to be taken on the island of San Salvador told me that the people there wore very large golden bracelets on the legs and arms. I quite believe that everything they said was a hoax in order to flee. Nevertheless my intention was, not to pass by any island of which I did not take possession, although having taken one, it could not be said that all were taken: and I anchored and remained there until to-day, Tuesday,¹ when at dawn I went to land with the boats armed and I landed, and those people, who were many and as naked and of the same condition as those of the other island of San Salvador, allowed us to go on the island and gave us what we asked of them. And because the wind blew across strongly from the south-east, I would not remain there and left for the ship, and there was a large canoe beside the caravel *Niña* and one of the men from the island of San Salvador who was on board the caravel threw himself into the sea and went away in the canoe, and the night before at midnight, the other² having thrown [blank in original] and went after the canoe, which fled [*a medio echado el otro . . . y fue atras la almadia, la qual fugió*] so that there never was a boat which could overtake it, although we followed it a long way. Nevertheless he gained the land and they left the canoe, and some of my company went on land after them and all scattered like chickens, and we took the canoe which they had left, alongside the caravel *Niña*, where already there was coming from another point another small canoe with a man who came to barter a ball of cotton; and some sailors threw themselves into the sea and took him, because he would not enter the caravel: and I, being on the poop of the ship, saw everything and sent for him and gave him a red bonnet and some small beads of green glass which I put on his arm and two hawk's bells, which I put in his ears, and I ordered his canoe, which also was in the boat, to be returned to him and I sent him to land: and I made sail then in order to go to the other large island which I saw to the west, and I ordered the other canoe, which the caravel *Niña* was towing at the stern, to be loosened and I afterwards watched the shore at the time of the landing of the other Indian to whom I had given the aforesaid things and from whom I did not take the ball of cotton, although he wished to give it to me: and all the others went to him and he wondered greatly and it appeared to him that we were very good people and that the other Indian who had fled had done us some injury, and that we were taking him on this account: and it was for this purpose that I pursued this conduct with him and ordered him set at liberty and gave him the said things, in order that they should hold us in this esteem and that another time when your Highnesses send here again they may

¹ Sailors reckoned a day from midnight to midnight.

² Las Casas in the *Historia* cites this incident as a proof that the Indians were held against their will.

not receive your people badly: and all that I gave them was not worth four maravedis. And thus I departed, which might be at 10 o'clock, with the wind south-east and inclining toward south, in order to go to this other island which is very large and where all these men whom I am bringing from the island of San Salvador make signs that there is a great deal of gold and that they wear bracelets of it on their arms and on their legs and in their ears and in their noses and on their breasts. And it was nine leagues from this island of *Santa Maria* to this other island east to west, and all this part of the island runs north-west to south-east. And it appears that there might well be more than 28 leagues of this coast on this side. And it is very level without any mountain, the same as the coasts of the islands of *San Salvador* and *Santa Maria* and all the coasts are free from rocks, except that all have some rocks under water near the land, on account of which it is necessary to keep the eyes open when desirous of anchoring, and not to anchor very near land, although the waters are always very clear and the bottom can be seen. And at a distance of two lombard shots from all those islands the water is so deep that the bottom cannot be reached. These islands are very green and fertile and the breezes are very soft and there may be many things which I do not know, because I did not wish to stop, in order to discover and search many islands to find gold. And since these people make signs thus, that they wear gold on their arms and legs,—and it is gold, because I showed them some pieces which I have,—I cannot fail with the aid of our Lord, in finding it where it is native. And being in the middle of the gulf between these two islands, that is to say, the island of *Santa Maria* and this large one, which I named *Fernandina*, I found a man alone in a canoe who was going from the island of *Santa Maria* to *Fernandina*, and was carrying a little of his bread which might have been about as large as the fist, and a gourd of water, and a piece of reddish earth reduced to dust and afterwards kneaded, and some dry leaves¹ which must be a thing very much appreciated among them, because they had already brought me some of them as a present at *San Salvador*: and he was carrying a small basket of their kind, in which he had a string of small glass beads and two blancas, by which I knew that he came from the island of *San Salvador*, and had gone from there to *Santa Maria* and was going to *Fernandina*. He came to the ship: I caused him to enter it, as he asked to do so, and I had his canoe placed on the ship and had everything which he was carrying guarded: and I ordered that bread and honey be given him to eat and something to drink. And I will go to *Fernandina* thus and will give him everything which belongs to him, that he may give good reports of us. So that, when your Highnesses send here, our Lord pleasing, those who come may receive honour and the Indians will give them of everything which they have."

¹ This is the first reference to *tobacco*, although not quite so plain as the one under date of November 5, 1492, when the natives in Cuba were seen smoking the weed. This present passage indicates that while still on Watling Island the Admiral had observed the use of this weed.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 16.

"I started from the islands of *Santa Maria de la Concepcion* when it was already about noon, for the island of *Fernandina*, which appears to be very large and is to the west, and I navigated all that day in a calm: I was not able to arrive in time to see the bottom in order to anchor in a clear place, because it is necessary to take great pains about this so as not to lose the anchors: and so I stood off and on all this night until day when I came to a village, where I anchored, and at which that man whom I found yesterday in the canoe in the middle of the gulf had arrived. He had given such good reports of us that all this night there was no lack of canoes alongside the ship, as the Indians brought us water and everything which they had. I ordered something given to each one of them, that is to say some little beads, 10 or 12 of them of glass on a thread, and some brass timbrels of the kind which are worth a maravedi each in Castile, and some leather straps, all of which they consider of the greatest excellence, and also ordered molasses to be given them that they might eat when they came on the ship: and then at the hour of *tercia*¹ I sent the ship's small vessel on land for water, and they very willingly showed my people where the water was, and they themselves brought the barrels full to the vessel, and were very greatly rejoiced to give us pleasure. This island is very large and I have determined to sail around it, because according to what I can understand, in it or near it there are mines of gold. This island is eight leagues distant from the island of *Santa Maria*, almost east by west: and this point to which I came and all this coast extends north-north-west by south-south-east and I saw fully 20 leagues of it, but it did not end there. Now while writing this, I made sail with the wind [from the] south in order to endeavour to sail around all the island, and work until I find *Samaot*, which is the island or city where the gold is, as all those Indians who come here on the ship, say: and as those Indians from the island of San Salvador and Santa Maria told us. The people of *Fernandina* are similar to those of the said islands, and have the same language and customs, except that these appear to me to be somewhat more domestic, of better manners and more subtle, because I see that they have brought cotton here to the ship and other little things for which they know better how to exact payment than the others: and also on this island I saw cotton cloths made like head-dresses [mantillas] and the people are better disposed and the women wear in front a little piece of cotton which barely covers their genital parts. This island is very green and level and fertile, and I have no doubt that panic-grass [*panizo*] may be sown and harvested all the year, and also all other things: and I saw many trees very different from ours and among them many which had branches of many kinds and all from one trunk, and one little branch is of one kind and another of another kind and so different that it is the greatest wonder in the world, how great is the difference between one kind and another. For example,

¹ Nine o'clock in the morning.

one branch had leaves like canes, and another like mastich-trees: and thus, on one tree alone, there are five or six of these kinds, and all are different: neither are they grafted, that it may be said that grafting does it; moreover are they found upon the mountains. Neither do these people take any care of them. They do not know any sect and I believe that they would very soon become Christians because they possess very good intelligence. There are fish here so different from ours that it is wonderful. There are some formed like cocks of the finest colours in the world, blue, yellow, red and of all colours, and others tinted in a thousand manners: and the colours are so fine that there is not a man who does not wonder at them, and who does not take great pleasure in seeing them. Also there are whales. I saw no beasts on land of any kind except parrots and lizards. A boy told me that he saw a large snake. I did not see sheep nor goats, nor any other beast; although I have been here a very short time, as it is mid-day, still if there had been any, I could not have missed seeing some. I will write about the circuit of this island after I have sailed around it."

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 17.

"At noon I started from the village where I was anchored and where I took water, in order to go and sail around this island of Fernandina, and the wind was south-west and south: and as my wish would be to follow this coast of this island where I was, to the south-east, because it extends thus all north-north-west and south-south-east: and I wished to follow the said course of the south and south-east, because,—in that region, according to these Indians I am bringing and another from whom I had indications,—in that region of the south is the island which they call *Samoot*, where gold is found. And Martin Alonzo Pinzón, captain of the caravel *Pinta*, upon which I sent three of these Indians, came to me and told me that one of them had very positively given him to understand that he would more quickly sail around the island in the direction of the north-north-west. I saw that the wind was not helping me on the course I wished to follow and was favourable for the other. I made sail to the north-north-west and when I was near the point of the island, at a distance of two leagues, I found a very wonderful harbour with one mouth: although it can be called two mouths because it has an island in the centre. And these mouths are both very narrow and the harbour is wide enough within for 100 ships, if it were clear and deep, and deep enough at the entrance. It appeared to me right to examine it well and sound it, and thus I anchored outside of it and entered it with all the boats belonging to the ships and we saw that it was not deep. And because I thought when I saw it that it was the mouth of some river, I had ordered barrels brought in order to take water, and on land I found some eight or ten men who immediately came to us and showed us the village near there, where I sent the people for water, one part with arms, others with barrels, and so they took it: and because it was at a little distance, I was detained for the space of two hours.

During this time I walked among those trees, which was a more beautiful thing to see than any other I had ever seen: seeing so much verdure in such condition as it is in the month of May in Andalusia, and the trees were all as different from ours as day from night and also the fruits and grasses and the stones and all the things. It is true that some trees were of the same nature as those which are in Castile, although there was a very great difference, and there were so many other trees of other kinds that there is no one who can identify them or compare them to those in Castile. All the people were the same as the others already spoken of, of the same condition, naked in the same manner and of the same stature and they gave what they had for whatever thing we might give them: and here I saw that some of the ship's boys bartered spears for some worthless little pieces of broken porringers and glass, and the others who went for the water told me how they had been in the houses of the Indians and that they were very well swept and clean within, and their beds and coverings were of things which are like nets of cotton.¹ Their houses are all like tents and are very high with good chimneys²: but I did not see any village among many which I saw, which had more than 12 to 15 houses. Here they found that the married women wore breech-cloths of cotton and the young girls none, except some who were already eighteen years of age. And there were dogs here, mastiffs³ and lap-dogs [*blanchetes*] and they found an Indian here who had a piece of gold in his nose, which might be as large as half a castellano, *on which they saw letters*.⁴ I scolded them because they did not trade with him for it, and give him whatever he demanded in order to see what it was, and whose money it was: and they replied to me that he did not dare to exchange it with them. After having taken the water, I returned to the ship and made sail and went to the north-west,

¹ These were hammocks, and we find them represented in the early sketches illustrating native customs.

² These chimneys had no shafts. They were openings in the form of a crown [*coronillas*] rising from the roof of the native houses, the latter constructed of straw. Columbus speaks of them as chimneys simply because they leave these openings above for the issue of the smoke.

³ Las Casas quotes in regard to these dogs:

"There were dogs, says the Admiral, mastiffs and lap-dogs, but as he learned of them by the story of the sailors who went for water, on that account he called them mastiffs. If he had seen them, he would not have called them so, as they appeared more like hounds. These and the small ones never bark, but they make a certain grunt in the throat. Finally they are like the dogs in Spain, only they differ in not barking."

⁴ This passage, so interesting to the antiquarian, must not be read as if the gold plate actually bore the letters or characters of some Old World language and which would indicate prior communication. It may have been a piece of gold from Mexico or Yucatan. Columbus seems to imagine it might be a piece of European money.

In the *Historia* Las Casas refers to the Christians seeing the Indian with the piece of gold in his nose which appeared to have letters on it, and says the Admiral scolded them that they did not barter for it, and they said it was through fear. He adds:

"But they deceived themselves believing that any marks the piece of gold might have had were letters, as they were accustomed to mark them in their fashion, but never in all these Indies was there a sign found of there being gold money, or silver money or money of any other metal."

Christopher Columbus

so far that I discovered all that part of the island as far as the coast which extends east and west, and then all these Indians said again that this island was smaller than the island of *Samoot*, and that it would be well to return backward in order to reach it more quickly. There the wind calmed and then commenced to blow west-north-west, which was contrary for our return to the place whence we had come, and so I returned and navigated all the past night to the east-south-east and sometimes to the east altogether and sometimes to the south-east. And I did this in order to get away from the land because it was very dark and cloudy and the weather was very threatening. The wind was light and did not allow me to reach land in order to anchor. Therefore this night it rained very hard from midnight almost until day, and it is yet cloudy and ready to rain: and we are at the point of the island on the south-eastern side where I hoped to anchor until the weather clears, in order to see the other islands to which I must go: and so it has rained a little or a great deal every day since I have been in *these Indies*. Your Highnesses may believe that this land is most fertile and temperate and level and the best there is in the world."

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 18.

"After the weather cleared I followed the wind and went around the island when I was able, and anchored when the weather was not suitable to navigate: but I did not land, and at dawn I made sail."

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 19.

"At dawn I weighed the anchors and sent the caravel *Pinta* to the east and south-east and the caravel *Niña* to the south-south-east, and I, with the ship went to the south-east, having given orders that both should follow that course until mid-day, and then that both should change their courses and seek me: and then, before three hours had passed, we saw an island to the east towards which we directed ourselves, and all three ships reached it at the northern point before mid-day, where there is a rocky islet and a reef outside of it to the north, and another between it and the large island: The men from *San Salvador* whom I am carrying, named this island *Saomete*, and I named it *Isabella*. The wind was north and the said rocky islet was in the course of the island of *Fernandina*, from whence I had sailed east by west. And the coast of *Isabella* then extended from the rocky islet to the west 12 leagues, as far as a cape which I called the *Cabo Hermoso*, which is on the western side: and thus it is beautiful, round and very prominent with no shoals outside of it and at the point it is rocky and low, and farther inland there is a sandy beach, as is almost all the said coast: and I anchored here this night, Friday, until morning. All this coast and the part of the island which I saw, is almost all a beach and the island is the most beautiful thing I ever saw: for if the others are very beautiful, this is more so: it has many very green and very large trees: and the land is higher than that of the other islands which have been

found. And on it there are some hillocks which cannot be called mountains, but which beautify the rest, and there appear to be many waters yonder in the centre of the island. From this side to the north-east there is a large point and there are many large thick groves. I wished to go and anchor at this point in order to land and see such a beautiful place: but the water was shallow and I could not anchor except quite a way from land, and the wind was very favourable for me to come to this cape, where I now anchored, and which I named *Cabo Hermoso* [Cape Beautiful] for such it is: and so I did not anchor at that point and also because I saw this cape from yonder, so green and so beautiful like all the other things and lands of these islands, so that I do not know where to go first: neither do my eyes weary of seeing such beautiful verdure so different from ours, and also I believe that there are here many herbs and trees, which are of great value in Spain for dyeing, for medicines and for spices, but I do not know them, which troubles me greatly. And on reaching this cape there came such a soft, sweet smell of flowers or trees from the land, that it was the sweetest thing in the world. In the morning before leaving here I will go on land to see what is here at this cape. There is no village except farther inland where these men I am bringing with me, say the King is and that he wears a great deal of gold. And in the morning I wish to go far enough to find the village and see or talk with the King, for according to the signs made by these Indians, he rules all these neighbouring islands and is clothed and wears a great deal of gold upon his person; although I do not put much faith in their sayings, as much because I do not understand them well, as because of knowing them to be so poor in gold that whatever small quantity this King wears it appears a great deal to them. This cape which I call *Cabo Fermoso*,¹ I believe is an island apart from *Saomcto*, and even that there is another small one midway between. I do not care to see so much thus in detail, because I could not do that in 50 years, and because I wish to go and discover the most that I can, in order to return to your Highnesses, God willing, in April. It is true that if I find where there is a quantity of gold or spices, it will detain me until I obtain as much as possible of them: and on this account I am not doing other than to go in search of them."

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 20.

"To-day at sunrise, I weighed anchors from where I was anchored with the ship at this island of *Saomcto* at the south-west cape which I named the *Cabo de la laguna*, as I had named the island *Isabella*, to navigate to the north-east and to the east from the south-eastern and southern part [of the island], where, as I heard from these men I have with me, there was a village and also the King of the island: and I found all the water so shallow that I could not enter or sail to it, and I saw that by following the south-

¹ The letter *F* and the letter *H* were once used indifferently in Spain, so one wrote HERNANDEZ or FERNANDEZ and so Columbus wrote both HERMOSO and FERMOSE.

west route it would be a very large detour, and for this reason I determined to return by the north-north-east on the western side, the way I had come, and sail around this island in order to [lacuna: perhaps *reconocerla*—*reconnoître*]. The wind was so light that I never could coast along the land except in the night: and as it is dangerous to anchor among these islands except in the daytime, when the eyes can see where the anchor is thrown, because the bottom is all unequal, one spot suitable and another not,—I began to stand off and on all this Sunday¹ night. The caravels anchored because they reached land early, and they thought that with the signals which they were accustomed to make, I would go and anchor, but I did not wish to do so.”

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 21.

“At 10 o'clock I arrived here at this point of the islet and anchored as did also the caravels: and after having eaten, I landed. There was no other village here except one house, in which I did not find any one, as I believe they had fled through fear because all their domestic utensils were in the house. I did not allow my people to touch anything but I went with them and with these captains and people to see the island. If the other islands already seen are very beautiful, green and fertile, this one is much more so and has very large green groves. There are some large lakes here and upon them and around them, there are wonderful groves. They are very green here as well as in all the island and the grass is the same as it is in April in Andalusia. And the singing of the little birds is such that it appears a man would wish never to leave here, and the flocks of parrots obscure the sun. And there are large and small birds of so many kinds and so different from ours, that it is wonderful. And then there are a thousand kinds of trees, each with its own fruit and they are all wonderfully odorous. I am the most troubled man in the world that I do not know them, because I am very certain that they are all valuable things and I am bringing specimens of them and also of the herbs. In walking thus around one of these lakes I saw a serpent which we killed and I am bringing the skin to your Highnesses. When it saw us, it threw itself into the lake and we followed it there, as the water was not very deep, until we killed it with spears. It is seven palms in length.² I believe there are many serpents like this one here in this lake. Here I recognised some aloes and to-morrow I have determined to have ten quintals brought to the ship, because they tell me it is very valuable. Also in searching for good water, we went to a village near here, a half league from where I am anchored: and the people of this village, as they saw us, all took to flight and left their houses, and hid their clothing [*ropas*] and what they possessed in the mountain. I did not allow anything to be taken, not the value of a pin. Afterward some of the men approached us and one came quite up to us. I gave him some hawk's bells and some little glass beads and he was very much pleased and very joyful. And that the friendship

¹ Sailors reckoned a day from midnight to midnight. ² Probably the *yüana* or *iguana*.

might increase and that I might require something of them, I asked him for water. And after I went on board the ship, they then came to the shore with their gourds full, and were very much pleased to give it to us. And I ordered that another string of little glass beads should be given them, and they said that they would come here to-morrow. I wished to fill all the ship's butts with water here; therefore, if the weather permits, I will then start and sail around this island, until I have speech with the King and see if I can obtain from him the gold which I hear he wears. And afterward I will leave for another very large island which I believe must be Cipango, according to the indications which those Indians I am taking with me, give me, and which they call *Colba*.¹ They say that at this island there are *many large ships and many skilled seamen*. Near this island there is another which they call *Bosio*,² which they say is also very large. And I will see the other islands which lie between in passing, and according to whether I find a quantity of gold or spices, I will determine what must be done. But still, I have determined to go to the mainland to the city of *Guisay* and give your Highnesses' letters to the Great Khan, and beg for a reply and come back with it."³

MONDAY, OCTOBER 22.

"All this night and to-day I remained here, waiting to see if the King of this country or other persons would bring gold or anything else of substance: and many of these people came, similar to the other people of the other islands, naked like them and painted, some white, some reddish, some blackish, and in many different fashions. They brought spears and some balls of cotton to trade, which they exchanged here with some sailors

¹ "*Colba* is doubtless an error in the original for *Cuba*."—Navarrete.

The following Tuesday the Admiral speaks of this island as *Cuba*.

If the Admiral understood the Indians to say that at *Colba* or *Cuba* he would find "many large ships and many skilled sailors," we in turn can understand his belief that he was near Cipango or Japan.

² "It is probable that this is *Bohio*, as the Admiral calls it farther on, and not *Bosio*."—Navarrete.

³ This island is without doubt *Española*, the land destined soon to hold the first European settlement in the New World and to be the scene of its first development.

Under the date of October 18, and running on through several days, the *Historia* says:

"There was near there another very large island which was called *Cuba*, which he believed was Cipango, according to the information which they [the Indians] gave him and according to what he understood also: he says there were large ships and many sailors; they told him of another island which also was very large, which they called *Bohio*, to which he wished to go and, according to the quantity of gold and spices which he might find, he would determine what to do, although, he says, he still was determined to go to the mainland to the city of Quisay, and give the letters of their Highnesses to the Great Khan, and beg for a reply and return with it. . . .

"He well understood the island of Cuba to be very large, because it is more than 300 leagues long and this *Española* which he here calls *Bohio* is larger and more pleasant, although not as long. . . . He could not have understood the interpreters in calling it *Bohio*, because among all these islands, where all is one language or almost all one, they call the houses in which they dwell 'bohio' and this great island of *Española* they call *Hayti*, and they must have said that in Hayti there were large 'bohios' that is to say in this island of *Española* the houses were large."

for pieces of glass, broken cups, and for pieces of earthen porringers. Some of them wore pieces of gold fastened to their noses, which they willingly gave for a hawk's bell suitable for the foot of a sparrow-hawk, and for small glass beads; but it is so small a quantity of gold, that it is nothing. It is true that however little was given them for the gold, they yet considered our coming very wonderful and believed that we had come from heaven. We took water for the ships from a lake here which is near the Point of the Island [*cabo del isleo*] as I shall name it: and in the said lake Martin Alonso Pinzón, captain of the *Pinta*, killed another serpent like the one of yesterday which was seven palms in length, and here I had all the aloes taken which were found."

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 23.

"I would like to leave here to-day for the island of Cuba¹ which I believe must be Cipango [Japan] according to the description which these people give of its size and richness, and I will not remain here longer, neither [*lacuna: perhaps—will I sail*] around this island to go to the village, as I had determined, in order to talk with this King or Lord. For I must not delay much since I see that there is no gold-mine and it needs many kinds of winds to sail around this island, and it does not blow thus as men would like. And as I must go where great trade may be had, I say that it is not reasonable to delay, but to pursue my journey and discover much land until I encounter a very profitable country, although my understanding is that this one is very well provided with spices: but I do not know them, which causes me the greatest trouble in the world, as I see a thousand species of trees, each of which has its kind of fruit and they are as green now as they are in Spain in the months of May and June: and there are a thousand kinds of herbs the same as of flowers, and of them all I recognised only these aloes, of which I to-day also ordered a large quantity brought to the ship to carry it to your Highnesses. And I have not made nor am I making sail for Cuba, because there is no wind, but a dead calm,

¹ The *Historia* tells of his desiring to start for the island of Cuba as in the *Journal* and continues:

"And it must be said here [as said before in chapter xii.] that the Admiral Don Christopher Columbus gave so much credit to the letter and painted figure or marine chart which Paul, the physician sent him, that he did not doubt finding the lands he had depicted: according to the distance or leagues which he had navigated to that place, it agreed almost exactly with the situation and vicinity in which Paul, the physician, had placed and situated the very rich and great island of Cipango, around which he also located an innumerable quantity of islands, and then the mainland. And as he saw so many islands, and the Indians told him and named to him more than a hundred others, the Admiral certainly had most confident reasons for believing that that island might be Cuba, and after he encountered this island of Española, he had greater and more urgent reason to believe that some of these islands might be Cipango, and consequently he thought he would find a very large sum of gold and silver, and pearls and spices."

The reader will observe from the constant use of the phrase *this Española* that Las Casas was preparing both the abridged *Journal* and his *Historia*, or at least its earlier portion, in the island of Santo Domingo.

and it rains hard: and it rained a great deal yesterday without making it cool, but rather it is warm during the day and the nights are temperate like those in Spain in the month of May in Andalusia."

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 24.

"This night at midnight I weighed the anchors from the *Cabo del Isleo* on the island of Isabella, which is on the northern part and is where I had stopped, in order to go to the island of Cuba which I heard from these people was very large and would yield much trade, and that there was upon it gold and spices and large vessels and merchants: and they showed me that a *course west-south-west*¹ would lead to it and I think it is so. Because I believe that if what these Indians from these islands and those I am taking on the ships have indicated to me by signs [as I do not understand the language] is true, it is the island of Cipango in regard to which they are telling wonderful things: and according to the spheres which I saw and the drawings of mappemondes it is in this region: Thus I sailed to the west-south-west until day, and at day-break the wind calmed and it rained, and it was so almost all the night. And I remained in this condition with a slight wind until past mid-day and then it commenced to blow again very pleasingly, and I spread all my sails on the ship, the main-sail, and two bonnets, the fore-sail, the sprit-sail, the mizzen-sail, the main-top-sail and the small sail in the stern. So I went on my course until nightfall and then Cabo Verde on the island of *Fernandina* which the southern point of the western part of the island² was north-west of me, and it was at a distance from me of seven leagues. And as it was still blowing strongly and I did not know how far it might be to the said island of Cuba, and in order not to go in search of it at night because the water around all these islands is very deep so that there is no anchorage save at a distance of two lombard shots, and the bottom is all either rocky or sandy so that one cannot anchor safely without seeing,—for these reasons I decided to lower all the sails except the fore-sail and navigate with that: and after a short time the wind increased very much and I went quite a distance without being sure of my course, and it was very dark and cloudy and it rained. I ordered the fore-sail lowered and we did not go two leagues this night, etc."³

¹ The italics are ours, as we desire the reader's attention to this course, it serving to identify the island from which, as well as the island to which, the Admiral was going. See our chapter on "The Landfall."

² The Spanish is *El cual es de la parte de sur á la parte de Oeste*, but it may be that the last five words mean to give the direction from where Columbus then was. Otherwise, reading the passage literally, Cabo Verde is on the south-western end of *Fernandina*.

³ The reader will understand that this and the following *et ceteras* are employed by Las Casas in the abridged *Journal*. He evidently thought the matter immediately following of little or no consequence.

[Las Casas now continues the narrative in the third person.]

Christopher Columbus

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 25.

After sunrise he sailed to the west-south-west until 9 o'clock and they went about five leagues. Afterwards he changed the course to the west. They went eight miles an hour until one hour after mid-day and from then until three o'clock, and they went about 44 miles. Then they saw land and there were seven or eight islands¹ all along from north to south. They were five leagues distant from them, etc.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 26.

He was south of the said islands. It was all shallow water for five or six leagues and he anchored there. The Indians he was carrying with him said that it was a day and a half's journey from these islands to Cuba with their canoes, which are small wooden vessels which do not carry sail. These are the canoes. He started from there for Cuba, because from the descriptions which the Indians gave him of the size of the island and of the gold and pearls on it, he thought that it was the one,—that is to say Cipango.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 27.

After sunrise he weighed the anchors from those islands which he called *Las Islas de Arena*, on account of the shallow water which extends six leagues to the south of them. He went eight miles an hour to the south-south-west until one o'clock and they might have gone 40 miles, and until night they went about 28 miles on the same course, and before night they saw land. They remained quiet that night, making observations during which time it rained very hard. Saturday they went until sunset 17 leagues to the south-south-west.

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 28.

He went from there in search of the island of Cuba to the south-south-west, to the nearest part of the island, and entered a very beautiful river which was very free from dangerous shoals and other inconveniences.² And the water all along the coast there was very deep and very clear as

¹ These are the group now called "The Ragged Islands," and form the south-easterly edge of the Great Bahama Bank. In the time of Columbus these were called *Las Islas de Arena*, from the name given them by the Admiral himself.

² The landfall of the Admiral on Cuba was probably at Nuevitas or perhaps in what is now called *Puerto del Padre*. Not only do the physical conditions justify this conclusion, but the direction whence he had come points to a landing at least as far west on the coast. When on Saturday, October 27, 1492, the Admiral weighed anchor from *Las Islas de Arena*, he steered in a south-south-western direction. This course was continued all that day and the following day again until—the exact hour is not given—on October 28, he anchored in a very beautiful river free from dangerous shoals, and the mouth of this river was wide enough to "beat about." Navarrete, followed by Captain Beecher and others, — places the landfall in the Bay of Nipe. Some writers make the landfall in the Bay of Gibaro or Jibaro still farther to the eastward. The statement of the Admiral that he saw a *point of land projecting to*

far as the shore. The mouth of the river was 12 fathoms deep and it is quite wide enough to beat about. He anchored inside, he says, at a distance of a lombard shot. The Admiral says that he never saw anything so beautiful, the country around the river being full of trees, beautiful and green and different from ours, with flowers and each with its own kind of fruit. There were many large and small birds which sang very sweetly, and there was a great quantity of palms differing from those in Guinea and from ours. They were of medium height without any bark at the foot and the leaves are very large, with which the Indians cover the houses. The country is very level. The Admiral jumped into the boat and went to land, and approached two houses which he believed to be those of fishermen who fled in fear. In one of the houses they found a dog which never barked and in both houses they found nets made of palm-threads and cords and fish-hooks of horn and harpoons of bone and other fishing materials and many fires [*hucos*] within and he believed that many persons lived together in each house. He ordered that not one thing should be touched, and thus it was done. The grass was as tall as in Andalusia in the months of April and May. He found much purslain and wild amaranth. He returned to the boat and went up the river a good distance and he says it was such a great pleasure to see that verdure and those groves and the birds that he could not leave them to return. He says that this island is the most beautiful one that eyes have seen, full of very good harbours and deep rivers and it appeared that the sea never rose because the grass on the beach reached almost to the water, which does not usually happen when the sea is rough. Until then he had never found in all those islands that the sea was rough. The island, he says, is filled with very beautiful mountains, although they are not very long but high and all the other land is high like Sicily. It is full of many waters, according to what he was able to understand from the Indians he was taking with him, whom he took in the island of *Guanahani*, who told him by signs that there are ten large rivers and that with their canoes they cannot go around it in

the north-west gives some foundation for this theory. But when the Admiral left his first port he says he sailed *to the west*.

Cuba, the gem of the West Indies, the largest and most important of all the islands, contains an area of about 45,000 square miles. It is situated between 19° and 23° north latitude and its longitude west of Greenwich runs from 74° to 85°. Its length from west to east, that is to say from Cape San Antonio to Cape Maisi, is some 760 miles, while its greatest width on the meridian of Manzanillo at the mouth of the river Cauto is 125 miles. Near Havana the width narrows to 30 or 35 miles. Columbus sought its shores under the Indian name of *Cuba*, but when once landed he conferred on it the name of *Juana* in honour of the Prince Don Juan, the son and heir of the Spanish Sovereigns. This Prince died before he could hold royal honours and when Ferdinand himself died the island was named after him. It was afterward in turn called *Santiago* and *Ave Maria* and finally came to be known by its original and aboriginal name of *Cuba*. Nuevitas is the port of Santa Maria de Puerto Principe, an inland city, thirty-six miles south-west of its port and which in the latter part of its name preserves the princely title bestowed upon the island by the Admiral.

twenty days. When he was going to land with the ships, two rafts or canoes came out and as they saw that the sailors entered the boat and were rowing in order to go and find out the depth of the river so as to know where they could anchor, the canoes fled. The Indians said that in that island there were mines of gold and pearls, and the Admiral saw a good place for them and for mussels which is an indication of them, and the Admiral understood that large ships belonging to the Great Khan came there, and that from there to the mainland it was a ten days' journey. The Admiral named that river and harbour *San Salvador*.¹

MONDAY, OCTOBER 29.

He weighed the anchors from that harbour and navigated to the west, he says, in order to go to the city where it appeared to him from what the Indians said that the King dwelt. One point² of the island projected to the north-west six leagues from there, another point projected to the east ten leagues: having gone another league he saw a river not with as wide an entrance as the other which he named the *Río de la Luna*.³ He sailed until the hour of vespers. He saw another river very much larger than the others, and the Indians told him so by signs, and near this river he saw good villages of houses. He named the river the *Río de Marcs*.⁴ He sent the boats to a village to have speech with the Indians, and in one of the boats he sent an Indian from among those he was taking with him, because the Indians already understood them somewhat and showed that they were pleased with the Christians. All the men and women and children fled from these people abandoning the houses with all they had, and the Admiral ordered that nothing should be touched. He says that the houses were more beautiful than those he had seen and he believed that the nearer they approached the mainland the better they were.

¹ Sunday, October 28. Las Casas in the *Historia* says the Admiral followed this order in naming the lands and islands he discovered:

"To the first, considering as a Christian that the beginnings are owed to the fount and source, from which all things visible and invisible proceed, which is God, he gave the name of *Sant' Salvador* . . . ; the second, as after God, to no one is so much owing as to the mother of God, and as he felt devotion for her feast of the Conception, he named *Santa María de la Concepción*, and because, after God and His blessed mother, he owed many favours and very good-will and had received them, from the Catholic Sovereigns, he named the third island *Fernandina*, in memory and honour of the Catholic King Ferdinand: the fourth he called *Isabella* for the most serene Queen Isabel, to whom he owed much more than to the King and more than to all . . . to the fifth, which was Cuba, he gave the name of *Juana*, for the Prince Don Juan, who was then living, Prince and heir to the realms of Castile."

Las Casas describes the land and the natural features and then says:

"The Admiral understood that large ships of the Great Khan came there, and that from there to the mainland it would be a journey of ten days, through the conception which he had gathered from the chart or drawing which the Florentine had sent him . . ."

² Navarrete regards this Point as *De Mulas* while the second Point is identified by him as *Cabaña*.

³ According to Navarrete this *Río de la Luna* is the port of Banas.

⁴ Navarrete makes the *Río de Marcs* the present port of *Nuevitas del Principe*.

They were constructed like pavilions, very large, and appeared like royal tents without uniformity of streets, but one here and another there, and within they were very well swept and clean, and their furnishings were arranged in good order. All are built of very beautiful palm branches. They found many statues of women's forms and many heads like masks,¹ very well made. It is not known whether they have them because of their beauty or whether they adore them. There were dogs² which never barked. There were small wild birds tamed in their houses. There were wonderful outfits of nets and hooks and fishing implements. They did not touch one thing among them. The Admiral believed that all the Indians on the coast must be fishermen who carry the fish inland, because that island is very large and so beautiful that he could not say too much good of it. He says that he found trees and fruits of a very wonderful taste. And he says that there must be cows and other herds of cattle on this island, because he saw skulls which appeared to him to be skulls of cows.³ There were large and small birds and the crickets sang all the night, which pleased every one. The breezes were soft and pleasant during all the night, neither cold nor warm. But in regard to the other islands he says that it is very warm upon them and here it is not, but temperate as in May. He attributes the heat of the other islands to their being very level, and to the fact that the wind which blows there is from the south and on that account very warm. The water in those rivers was salt at the mouth. They did not know the sources whence the Indians drank although they had fresh water in their houses. The ships were able to turn around in the river to enter and to go out and they have very good signs or marks. They are seven or eight fathoms deep at the mouth and five within. He says that it appears to him that all that sea must always be as calm as the river of Seville, and the water suitable for the growth of pearls. He found large snails without taste, not like those in Spain. He described the disposition

¹ Navarrete thinks the original word *caratona* should be read *caratula* or *mas-carilla*, little or half masks.

² There has been much dispute as to whether there were dogs in America prior to the introduction of European specimens, many persons believing that the animal which the Spaniards saw was the *alco*, a small creature, mute, with a nose like a fox. The Indians were fond of these little animals and carried them on their shoulders wherever they went. The dogs of Europe introduced by the Spaniards had so multiplied that in the year 1587 they were regarded in Santo Domingo both as a nuisance and a danger and a price was set upon their heads; but these were the blood-hounds and their crosses, the ferocious beasts brought over to hunt and kill the Indians. Some writers think these so-called native dogs were raccoons trained and domesticated. If a separate genus, it is extinct.

Later on the Admiral distinguishes the dogs by dividing them into two classes, one of which was evidently used for hunting game. The Spaniards found nothing strange about these animals except their inability to bark.

³ Las Casas says here:

"These must have been the skulls of manati—manatee—[sea-cows], very large fish, like large calves, which have skin without scales, like the skin of a whale, and a head almost like a cow's head. This fish is much more savoury than veal, especially when it is small like young calves, and is pickled, and no one who did not know it, would think it was a fish but that it was flesh."

of the river and the harbour which he says above that he named *San Salvador*, by saying that its mountains are beautiful and high, like the Rock of the Lovers [*peña de lo enamorados*] and one of them has at the summit another little mount like a beautiful mosque. This river and harbour in which he was at this time, has to the south-east two quite round mountains and to the west-north-west a beautiful level cape which projects outward.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 30.

He went out of the *Rio de Mares* to the north-west and after having gone fifteen leagues he saw a cape covered with palms and named it *Cabo de Palmas*.¹ The Indians who were in the caravel *Pinta* said that behind that cape there was a river and from the river to *Cuba* it was four days' journey² and the captain of the *Pinta* said that he understood that this *Cuba* was a city, and that *that* country was the mainland, very large, which extends very far to the north; and that the King of that country was at war with the Great Khan, whom they called *Canti*, and his country or city they called *Fava* and many other names. The Admiral determined to approach that river and send a present to the King of the Country and send him the letter from the Sovereigns, and for this purpose he had a sailor who had been in Guinea in like manner and certain Indians³ from *Guanahani* who wished to go with him, so that afterwards they might return to their country. In the Admiral's opinion *he was 42 degrees distant from the equinoctial line toward the north*,⁴ *but the text from which this is copied is defaced*; and he says that he must strive to go to the Great Khan as he thought he was in that vicinity or at the city of *Cathay*⁵ which is the city of the Great Khan.⁶ He says that this city is very great, accord-

¹ Navarrete identifies the Cap de Palmiers with the *Alto de Juan Dañue* and the river which the Indians declared was back of this cape, he identifies with the *Rio Maximo*.

² It was afterwards understood that the *Cuba* the Indians meant was an interior province. We have the authority of Las Casas and of the Admiral himself for saying that the Indians understood the Spaniards most imperfectly and the Spaniards interpreted with like uncertainty the various declarations of the natives.

³ The fact that the Indians desired to go to land and were permitted to go, shows that they were free agents and not unwilling prisoners.

⁴ The Admiral was using a quadrant marking double elevations, thus the 42° mark should be read 21° for the true latitude. *Puerto del Padre*, the possible land-fall of Columbus, is in latitude 21° 17' north.

⁵ *Cathay*, the country of the Great Khan, and the two cities mentioned under date of November 1, *Zayto* and *Guinsay*, all confirm the connection and correspondence between Columbus and Paolo Toscanelli. If the celebrated letter was a fabrication, it was fabricated before the first voyage. The error of calling *Cathay* a city instead of a country is evidently due to the illegible manuscript, especially as the correct designations are used under date of November 1.

⁶ October 30. Las Casas in the *Historia* here relates what Martin Alonso said about *Cuba* and the Great Khan, and then proceeds:

"Martin Alonso conceived all this from the said Indians he was taking in his caravel, whom he did not understand: and it is a wonderful thing how when man desires anything greatly and has firmly seated it in his imagination, everything he

ing to what was said to him before he left Spain. He says all this country is low and beautiful and the sea is deep.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 31.

All Tuesday night he went beating about and saw a river which he could not enter as the mouth was shallow: and the Indians thought that the ships could enter as their canoes entered, and sailing onward he found a cape which projected very far out and was surrounded by shoals and he saw an inlet or bay where small ships could remain, and he could not reach it, because the wind had shifted entirely to the north and all the coast extended to the north-north-west and south-east and another cape which he saw ahead of him projected farther out. For this reason and because the sky indicated a strong wind he had to return to the *Rio de Marcs*.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 1.

At sunrise the Admiral sent the boats to land to the houses which were there and they found that all the people had fled: and after some time a man appeared and the Admiral ordered that they should be left to become re-assured and the boats returned, and after having eaten he again sent to land one of the Indians he was carrying, who from a distance called to them saying that they must not be afraid because the Spaniards were good people and did no harm to any one; neither were they from the Great Khan, rather had they given of their possessions in many islands where they had been. And the Indian started to swim and went to land, and two of

may see and hear at each step, he judges without reflection to be in its favour; because this Martin Alonso had seen the chart or painting which Paul, that Florentine physician had sent to the Admiral . . . and had seen the location where these islands were found; and other reasons, which we have already said had moved the Admiral to what he believed and hoped, had also persuaded Martin Alonso *himself* to think the same; so everything the Indians said by signs, being as distant from the truth as heaven is from earth, he addressed and attributed to what he desired,—that is, that that country either was the realm of the Great Khan or lands bordering upon it, as the Admiral understood and desired."

The *Historia* then says that the Admiral decided to send messengers and continues:

"And the Admiral says here that he had determined to strive as much as possible to go and see the Great Khan whom he thought resided near there or at the city of Cathay, which is the principal one among his cities, and which was very large and had great riches, which he had painted or situated on the chart which the said Florentine sent him. From this, the Admiral inferred that all that country was not an island but continental land, and in truth it was the island of Cuba, and as to what the Indians said that from the aforesaid river to Cuba it was four days' journey and that it must be some city,—it appears manifest how much to the contrary they understood what the Indians said by signs, because that Cuba was not all the island, which is called thus, nor was it a city, as Martin Alonso believed, but it was a province which is called *Cubanacan*, almost in the centre of Cuba; because *nacan* means in the language of these islands, 'middle' or 'in the middle,' and thus this name *Cubanacan* is compounded of 'Cuba' and 'nacan,' a land or province which is in the middle or almost in the middle of the whole island of Cuba. This province, *Cubanacan*, was very rich in gold mines, and as the Indians saw how much and how many times the Christians named gold and called for it, they indicated to them the province of *Cubanacan*, where the mines of gold they desired would be found, and they [the Christians] understood completely the contrary and applied what they said to the Great Khan. . . ."

the Indians there took him by the arms and conducted him to a house where they questioned him. And as they were sure that no harm would be done them, they were re-assured and then there came to the ships more than sixteen rafts or canoes with spun cotton and other little things of theirs, of which the Admiral ordered that nothing should be taken that they might know that the Admiral was seeking nothing except gold which they call *nucay*: and thus during all the day they went and came from land to the ships, and the Christians went to land in great security. The Admiral did not see any of them have gold but the Admiral says he saw one of them have a piece of wrought silver fastened to his nose, which he took as an indication that there was silver in the country. They said by signs that before three days there would come many merchants from the country inland to buy the things which the Christians brought there, and they would give news from the King of the country, who, according to what they could understand by the signs they made was four days' journey distant from there, because they had sent many people through all the country, to tell them about the Admiral. These people, says the Admiral, are of the same quality and have the same customs as the others which have been found, without any sect that I know, as until the present I have not seen these I am bringing with me make any prayer but instead they say the *Salve* and the *Ave Maria* with the hands raised to heaven as they are shown, and they make the sign of the cross. All the language also is one and they are all friends and I believe that all these islands are friendly, and that they are at war with the Great Khan, whom they call *Cavila* and the province *Bajan*, and thus they also go naked like the others. The Admiral says this. He says that the river is very deep and the ships can approach their sides to the land, in the mouth. The water is not fresh until within a league of the mouth and there it is very fresh. And it is certain says the Admiral that this is the mainland and that I am, he says, before *Zayto* and *Guinsay*,¹ 100 leagues a little more or a little less, distant

¹ The reader will doubtless be puzzled at this interpretation of the Admiral's *Journal*. When we turn to the Toscanelli letter we read that on the map forwarded to Columbus by him, there were marked 26 spaces, each of 250 miles, between the city of Lisbon and the city of Quinsay, and that this distance was one third the circumference of the earth. A portion of this distance is to be deducted because practically Columbus started from the Canaries. Before he reached Quinsay he might expect to meet with the island of Antilla, and from there to the "very splendid island of Cipango" were ten spaces or 2500 miles. Leaving out of the question the mysterious island called Antilla and with which Toscanelli asserted Columbus was familiar, Cipango was one object of search, and we find the Admiral expressing himself as certain he had found this island when he set his foot on Cuba. Now we find him asserting that he is on the continental land and near the city of Quinsay. If he was in the neighbourhood of Quinsay or within "100 leagues a little more or a little less" he would believe he had passed over 6500 miles of ocean and was that far to the westward of the coast of Portugal. Yet we find him recording a longitude very much less in his *Journal*. If he gave credit to Toscanelli's location of Cathay and Mangi, of their great cities Quinsay and Zaiton, he was too intelligent a navigator to believe he had actually traversed any such space as 1625 leagues from the coast of Europe. If we could have one glance at the holograph *Journal* of Columbus we might find

from both, and it is well shown by the sea which comes in a different manner than it has come up to the present, and yesterday as he was going to the north-west he found that it was becoming cold.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 2.

The Admiral decided to send two Spaniards, the one named Rodrigo de Jerez who lived in Ayamonte and the other one Luis de Torres, who had lived with the Adelantado of Murcia, and had been a Jew and who he says knew how to speak Hebrew and Chaldean and even some Arabic: and with these men he sent two Indians, one of those he was taking with him from *Guanahani* and the other from those houses situated on the River. He gave them strings of beads to buy something to eat if it should fail them and six days' time in which to return. He gave them specimens of spices to see if they came across any of them. He gave them instructions as to how they must ask for the King of that country and as to what they were to say on the part of the Sovereigns of Castile, how they sent the Admiral that he might give to the King on their part their letters and a present, and in order to learn of his state and gain friendship with him that he might favour them in whatever they might need, etc.: and that they might learn of certain provinces and harbours and rivers of which the Admiral had information and how far distant they were from there, etc.

This night the Admiral took the altitude here with a quadrant and he found that he was 42 degrees ¹ distant from the equinoctial line and he says that by his computation he found that he had gone from the island of Hierro 1142 ² leagues, and he still affirms that that country is the mainland.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 3.

In the morning the Admiral entered the boat and as the river forms a great lake at the mouth which makes a very remarkable harbour very deep and free from rocks, a very good beach to run the ships aground in order to clean the hulls, and there is a great deal of wood,—he went up the river until he reached fresh water, which might be about two leagues and ascended a slight elevation to learn something of the country, and he could not see anything because of the large groves which were very fresh and odorous, on account of which he says he has no doubt that there are aromatic herbs. He says that everything he saw was so beautiful that the eyes could not weary of seeing such beauty nor could one weary of the songs of the birds, both large and small. That day many rafts or canoes

clearer readings. We recall that Las Casas more than once declares that the *Journal* had places in it not legible by him and in one place we will find him blaming some scribe for his poor writing.

¹ It has been explained that the instrument used in those days recorded half degrees and we are to read this record as 21 degrees.

² Navarrete in a note remarks that the true distance was 1105 leagues.

Captain A. B. Beecher of the English Navy estimates the distance as given by Columbus in his *Journal* as 1092½ leagues.

came to the ships to barter things made of spun cotton and the nets in which they slept, which are hammocks.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 4.

Then at dawn the Admiral entered the boat and went to land to hunt some birds which he had seen the day before. After his return, Martin Alonzo Pinzón came to him with two pieces of cinnamon and said that a Portuguese he had on his ship had seen an Indian who was carrying two very large handfuls of it, but that he had not dared to trade with him for it on account of the prohibition of the Admiral that no one should do any trading. He said further that the Indian had some bright reddish things like nuts. The Boatswain of the *Pinta* said that he had found trees of cinnamon. The Admiral then went there and found that it was not cinnamon. The Admiral showed cinnamon and pepper to some Indians in that place—it appears that it was from that which they were carrying from Castile as a specimen—and he says that they recognised it and they said by signs that near there, there was a great deal of it toward the south-east. He showed them gold and pearls and certain old men replied that in a place they called *Bohío* there was an infinite quantity of gold, and that they wore it at the neck and in the ears and on the arms and on the legs, and also pearls. He understood further that they said there were large ships and merchandise and *all this was to the south-east*. He understood also that a long distance from there, there were men with one eye and others with dogs' snouts who ate men and that on taking a man they beheaded him and drank his blood and cut off his genital parts. The Admiral determined to return to the ship and await the two men he had sent in order to decide to start and search for those lands, unless, these men brought some good news of what he desired. The Admiral says further—"These people are very meek and very fearful, naked as I have said, without arms and without government. These lands are very fertile. They are full of 'mames'¹ which are like carrots and taste like chestnuts and they have 'faxones' and beans very different from ours, and a great deal of cotton, which they do not sow and which grows in the mountains, large trees of it: and I believe they have it ready to gather all the time because I saw the pods opened and others which were opening and flowers all on one tree and a thousand other kinds of fruits of which it is not possible for me to write and it must all be a profitable thing." The Admiral says all this.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 5.

At dawn he ordered the small ship beached in order to clean the hull

¹ Las Casas declares that the *mames* are *ajes* or *batatas*. Oviedo seems to distinguish the *ajes* from the *batatas* or *patatas*. The former are of a violet colour verging on blue, while the *patatas* [whence we get the designation for our tubers] are grey in colour and better. These are of the order *Convolvulus Batatas*, the sweet potato, and the description of the Admiral is quite correct: they do look like carrots and they do taste like chestnuts.

and the other ships also, but not all together: but that two should remain all the time in the place where they were for security, although he says that those people were very safe and they could have beached all the ships together without fear. Being in this condition, the Boatswain of the *Niña* came to beg a reward from the Admiral because he had found mastic,¹ but he did not bring a specimen because he had lost it. The Admiral promised him the reward and sent Rodrigo Sanchez and Master Diego to the trees, and they brought a little of it which he kept to carry to the Sovereigns and also some of the tree and he says that he knew that it was mastic. Although it must be gathered at the right time: and that there was enough in that vicinity to procure 1000 quintals each year. He says that he found near there a great deal of that wood which is called aloe. He says further that the *Puerto de Mares* is one of the best harbours in the world and has the best climate and the quietest people and as it has a point formed by a high rocky hillock a fortress can be made, so that if rich and great things should come out of this country, the merchants would be secure there from any other nations whatever.² And he says,—“May Our Lord, in whose hands are all the victories, dispose all that which is for His service.” He says that an Indian said by signs that the mastic was good for pains in the stomach.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 6.

Yesterday in the night, says the Admiral, the two men whom he had sent inland to see the country came back and told him how they had gone

¹ The mastic or mastich was one of the products sought by Columbus. This is a resinous exudation obtained from the lentisk *Pistacia Lentiscus*. It grows in many places, even in Spain and Portugal, but generally one understands the mastic to be the particular product made on the island of Scio, of which it forms the principal revenue. This product comes in a solid form in four qualities, cakes, large tears or globules, small tears, and mixed with leaves, in which last form it is used for *raki* or Turkish liquors. The East Indian mastic was probably known in the days of Columbus. It was highly prized as a medicine as well as an indulgent. Columbus had been to the island of Scio and knew very well this shrub and its product.

² Las Casas declares that this port is Baracoa, while Navarrete locates it in *Las Nuevas del Principe*. Some modern writers follow Las Casas and seem to regard Baracoa as the port *De Mares* and consequently as the most western point of the island of Cuba visited by Columbus on his first voyage. Baracoa, founded by Diego de Velasquez, is in longitude $74^{\circ} 20'$, far to the eastward of where the Admiral was at this date. Mr. Frederick A. Ober, who has written delightful books of travel describing the West Indies, seems to think that it was from this port of Baracoa the Admiral on November 2 sent his embassy to the Great Khan. Herrera makes Baracoa on the north coast, 60 leagues east-north-east of Santiago, which in his day was the most important town in that part of the island, although the Governor even then resided at Havana or Albana, as it was often called. Puerto del Principe, on the other hand, was near the north coast a great distance to the north-west of Santiago. It may be said then that wherever on the island the Admiral beached his ships and from whatever point he sent back into the interior the two Spaniards, Rodrigo de Jerez and Luis de Torres, it was not Baracoa but some place many leagues distant to the west.

twelve leagues as far as a village ¹ of fifty houses, where he says there were a thousand inhabitants, as a great many live in one house. These houses are like very large pavilions. The Spaniards said that the Indians received them with great solemnity according to their custom and all the men as well as the women came to see them and lodged them in the best houses. The Indians touched them and kissed their hands and feet wondering, and believing that they came from heaven, and thus they gave them to understand.² They gave them to eat from what they had. They said that on arriving, the most honourable persons of the village conducted them by the arms to the principal house and gave them two chairs in which they sat down and they all seated themselves on the floor around them. The Indian who went with them told them how the Christians lived and how they were good people. Afterwards the men went out and the women entered and seated themselves in the same manner around them, kissing their hands and feet, trying them to see if they were of flesh and of bone like themselves. They begged them to remain there with them at least five days. They showed the Indians the cinnamon and pepper and other spices which the Admiral had given them and these told them by signs that there was a great deal of it near there to the south-east: but that they did not know if they had it in that place. *Having seen that there were no rich cities* ³ they returned and if they had desired to make a place for those who wished to come with them, that more than 500 men and women would have come with them, because they thought they were returning to heaven. There came with them however one of the principal men of the village and his son and one of his men. The Admiral talked with them, paid them great honour and he [this Indian] indicated to him many lands and islands there were in those parts and he thought to bring them to the Sovereigns: and he says he did not know what the Indian desired of him, but it appears that because of fear and in the darkness of night he desired to land, and the Admiral says that as he had the ship dry on land, and not wishing to irritate him, he let him go, saying that at dawn he would return, but he never returned. The two Christians found on the way *many people* who were crossing to their villages, *men and women with a half burned wood in their hands and herbs to smoke*, which they are in the habit of doing.⁴ They did not find on the way a village of more than

¹ Navarrete identifies this village with Bayamo, but according to Herrera the village of Bayamo was to the eastward of Puerto del Principe, at least he describes this latter place as being forty leagues north-west of Santiago, while Bayamo is only twenty leagues north-west of the said city.

² The reader will notice how inconsistent is all this wonder and surprise with the theory that the natives had seen or heard of white people before the coming of Columbus.

³ Again the italics are ours to direct attention to the fact that Columbus could not have really believed himself arrived at Cathay, where all along the coast would be found cities rich and splendid.

⁴ The first mention of tobacco in the New World, or of what probably was tobacco, is practically coincident with the discovery itself. Under date of October 15 the Admiral found a man in a canoe, between the island of *Santa Maria de la Concep-*

five houses, and all gave them the same welcome. They saw many kinds of trees and grasses and sweet-smelling flowers. They saw many kinds of birds different from those in Spain, except partridge¹ and nightingales, which sang, and geese, and of these there is a very great number there. They saw no four-footed beasts except dogs which did not bark. The land is very fertile and very well cultivated with those "mames" and

cion and the island of *Fernandina*, who bore dry leaves of great estimation among the natives and samples of which the Admiral says were offered him as a present while yet he was at San Salvador or Guanahani. These undoubtedly were tobacco leaves. But here, on the island of Cuba, only a short time after his first experience with the weed, he tells us that he found men "with a half burned wood in their hands and herbs which they are in the habit of smoking." Thus he refers to a practice he had already observed confirming the use of tobacco among the inhabitants of Guanahani or Watling Island. In the *Historia*, speaking of the observation by Columbus of the use of tobacco among the natives of Cuba, Las Casas says:

"These two Christians found on the way many people, men and women, who were crossing to their villages, the men with a half burned wood in their hands [*tison*] and certain herbs in order to take their smokes, which are some dry herbs put in a certain leaf, also dry, in the manner of a musket made of paper, like those the boys make on the day of the Passover of the Holy Ghost; and having lighted one part of it, by the other they suck, absorb or receive that smoke inside with the breath, by which they become benumbed and almost drunk, and so it is said that they do not feel fatigue. These muskets, as we will call them, they call tobacco. I knew Spaniards on this island of Española who were accustomed to take it and being reprimanded for it, by telling them that it was a vice, they replied that they were unable to cease using it. I do not know what relish or benefit they found in it."

Navarrete quotes this passage in a note and observes:

"Such is the origin of our cigars. Who could have then said that its [tobacco] consumption and use would become so common and general and that upon this new and remarkable vice would be founded the source of one of the richest revenues for the State!"

Oviedo describes an instrument something like a Y, a small wooden tube the two points of which the smoker inserted in his nostrils, so inhaling the smoke. He says the name of the instrument was tobacco. Benzoni, whose work was published in 1565, says that in Mexico the name of the herb itself was *tabacco*. It is commonly said that tobacco was not brought to Europe until the middle of the sixteenth century, but it must be that this statement refers to the introduction of the green plant for cultivation. Francisco Ferrandes, a physician sent by Philip II. to investigate the products of Mexico, is said first to have brought the plant to Spain. Jean Nicot, the French Ambassador to Portugal, secured some of this plant and forwarded it to his mistress, Catherine de' Medici, and this is recorded in science by the genus *Nicotiana* applied to the plant. We think the use of tobacco in Spain was much earlier. Its use among Spaniards in the New World must have been begun at a very early date. We find the following item in the second Will of Diego Columbus, executed May 2, 1523, wherein he makes a legacy to a tobacco merchant of Lisbon showing that there must have been even then trafficking in that weed which to one half the world comes as a panacea and to the other half as an abomination:

"A Antonio, tobaco mercador, ginoves, que solia bibir en Lisboa dos mill é quinhentos reales de Portugal, que son siete ducados poco mas, á razon de trescientos é ochenta é cinco reales el ducado."

"To Antonio, tobacco merchant, a Genoese, who was accustomed to live in Lisbon, 2500 reals of Portugal, which are 7 ducats, a little more, at the rate of 385 reals to the ducat."

¹ Las Casas says:

"... but he found native partridges like those in Spain, except that they are much smaller and have almost nothing else eatable except the breast. . . . It must here be known that in all these islands there are no partridges or cranes save in the island of Cuba alone."

"fexoes" and beans very different from ours, that same panic-grass and a great quantity of cotton gathered and spun and worked, and they said that in one house alone they had seen more than five hundred arrobas¹ and that there could be had there each year, four thousand quintals. The Admiral says that it appeared to him they did not sow it and that it bears fruit all the year: it is very fine, and has a very large pod. All that these people had, he says, they gave for a very miserable price and that they gave one great basket of cotton for the end of a leather strap or any other thing that was given them. They are a people, says the Admiral, very free from evil or from war. All the men and women are naked as their mothers gave them birth. It is true that the women wear a cotton thing only large enough to cover their genital parts and no more and they are of very good presence, neither very black but less so than the inhabitants of the Canaries. "I have to say Most Serene Princes [says the Admiral] that by means of devout religious persons knowing their language well, all would soon become Christians: and thus I hope in our Lord that your Highnesses will appoint such persons with great diligence in order to turn to the Church such great peoples, and that they will convert them, even as they have destroyed those who would not confess the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit: and after their days as we are all mortal, they will leave their realms in a very tranquil condition and freed from heresy and wickedness, and will be well received before the Eternal Creator, Whom may it please to give them a long life and a great increase of larger realms and dominions, and the will and disposition to spread the holy Christian religion, as they have done up to the present time, Amen.—To-day I will launch the ship and make haste to start Thursday in the name of God to go to the south-east and seek gold and spices and discover land." These are the words of the Admiral, who thought to start on Thursday. But as the wind was contrary, he could not start until Nov. 12.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 12.

He started from the harbour and river of *Mares* at the passing of the quarter of dawn to go to an island which the Indians he was taking positively affirmed was called *Babeque*, where, as they said by signs, the people on it gather gold with candles at night in the sand and afterwards with a hammer he says they make bars of it, and in order to go to this island it was necessary to turn the prow to the east, quarter south-east. After having gone eight leagues forward along the coast he found a river and then having gone another four, he found another river which appeared very rich and larger than any of the others he had found. He did not wish to stop or enter any of them on two accounts, the principal one that the weather and wind were good to go in search of the said island of *Babecque*, the other because if there should be any *populous or famous city upon it, it would appear near the sea*,² and in order to go up the river small

¹ About 12,500 pounds weight.

² We would have the reader notice particularly this very natural idea of the

vessels were necessary, which those they had were not, and thus he would also lose much time, and the similar rivers are a thing to be discovered by one's self. All that coast was principally populated near the river, to which he gave the name of *El Rio del Sol*. He said that Sunday before, November 11, it had appeared to him that it would be well to take some persons from those dwelling by that river in order to take them to the Sovereigns that they might learn our language so as to know what there is in the country, and that in returning they may speak the language of the Christians and take our customs and the things of the Faith, "Because I see and know [says the Admiral] that this people have no sect whatever nor are they idolaters, but very meek and without knowing evil, or killing others or capturing them and without arms, and so timorous that a hundred of them flee from one of our people, although they may jest with them: and they are credulous and they know that there is a God in heaven, and they firmly believe that we have come from heaven: and they learn very quickly whatever prayer we tell them to say and they make the sign of the cross ✝. So that your Highnesses must resolve to make them Christians, as I believe that if they commence, in a short time a multitude of peoples will have been converted to our Holy Faith acquiring great domains and riches and all their villages for Spain: because without doubt there is a very great quantity of gold in this land, as these Indians I am bringing say, not without cause, that there are places in these islands where they dig the gold and wear it at the neck and in the ears and on the arms and on the legs and there are very heavy bracelets and also there are precious stones and pearls and an infinite quantity of spices. And in this river of *Mares* from whence I started last night, without doubt there is a very great quantity of mastic, and there may be more if it is desired that there should be more, because in planting the trees they grow easily and there are a great quantity and very large ones, and the leaf is like the mastic-tree and the fruit, except that the trees as well as the leaves are larger, as Pliny says, and as I have seen on the island of Scio in the Archipelago. And I ordered many of these trees tapped to see if resin would flow out in order to bring some, and as it has rained all the time I have been in the said

Admiral that any large or important city would likely be found not away in the interior but *near the sea*. Marco Polo, with whose book he was familiar, and Toscanelli, with whom he corresponded, described the multitude of the cities of Cathay, their wealth and glories. How was it possible then for Columbus, year after year, voyage after voyage, to believe himself on the shores of Asia, in the kingdom of the Great Khan, and yet in all his wanderings never to behold a port with ships or a city with walls? At first, on his first voyage and on his second voyage, he doubtless expected to find if not the Great Khan himself at least the outer door to his dwelling, but after that we believe the truth dawned upon him, a suspicion positively confirmed on his fourth voyage when on the coast of Veragua he was told that across the land to the west lay another body of water, another ocean, and that the western coast of the land, the continental land, bore the same relation to the eastern coast, where he then was, as Fuenterabia in the Atlantic Ocean bore to Tarragona in the Mediterranean Sea. He knew then he was on continental land and he knew that beyond the continental land lay another and distinct ocean.

river I have not been able to get any of it, except a very small quantity which I am bringing to your Highnesses, and also it may be that it is not the time to tap them; as for this purpose I believe that the end of the winter when the trees are about to bloom is suitable: and here they already have the fruit almost ripe at the present time. And also there will be a great quantity of cotton here, and I believe that it would be sold very well here without taking it to Spain, but to the great cities of the Great Khan which will without doubt be discovered, and to many other cities belonging to other Lords which will come to serve your Highnesses, and where other things from Spain and *the lands of the east* will be taken, since *these are to the west of us*.¹ And here there is also an infinite quantity of aloes, although it is not a thing which will produce great riches; but from the mastic much is to be expected, because there is none except in the said island of Scio, and I believe that they derive from it fifty thousand ducats, if I do not remember wrongly. And there is here in the mouth of the river the best harbour that I have seen until the present time, clear and wide and deep and a good situation and strong place to construct a village; and any ships whatever can approach their sides to the banks and the land is very temperate and high and the waters are very good. Yesterday there came to the side of the ship a canoe with six youths upon it and five of them entered the ship: these I ordered kept and I am bringing them with me. And afterwards I sent to a house which is west of the river and they brought seven women, small and large, and three children. I did this that the men might conduct themselves better in Spain by having women from their country than they would without them: as it had already happened many other times in taking the men from Guinea that they might learn the language in Portugal,—that after they returned and it was thought that they might be made use of in their country on account of the good company they had had and the presents which had been given them, that they never appeared after arriving there. Others did not act in this manner. So that having their wives they will be willing to undertake what is desired of them, and also these women will teach our people their language, which is all one in all these islands of India and all understand each other and all go with their canoes, which is not the case in Guinea where there are a thousand kinds of languages so that one does not understand the other. This night there came to the side of the vessel the husband of one of these women and the father of the three children who were a male and two females, and asked that I might let him come with them and it pleased me greatly, and they are now all consoled so they must all be relatives, and he is a man of already forty-five years."² All these are the exact words of the

¹ This passage we construe as meaning that Cathay, the kingdom of the Great Khan, was regarded by Columbus as toward the west from where he then was.

² November 12. The events related under this date in the *Historia* are about the same, but not in the same sequence exactly, as in the *Journal*. Las Casas arraigns Columbus at the bar of justice for taking the Indian women and says that in all the misfortunes that befel him in after life it might well be recognised that he deserved them for this injustice, and even much more than he experienced.

Admiral. He also says above that it was somewhat cold and on this account it would not be good judgment to navigate to the north in winter in order to make discoveries. He sailed this Monday until sunset eighteen leagues to the east quarter south-east as far as a cape, which he named the *Cabo de Cuba*.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 13.

All this night he was "á la corda," as the sailors say, which is to beat about and not make any headway, in order to see a gap in the mountains, which is an opening as between one mountain range and another, which he began to see at sunset, where two very large mountains¹ appeared, and it seemed that the country of Cuba was divided from that of Bohío, and the Indians he was taking with him said so by signs. Daylight having arrived, he made sail for land, and passed a point which at night appeared about two leagues distant, and entered a large gulf, five leagues to the south-south-west: and there remained another five leagues to arrive at the cape, where between two large mountains there was a cut into which he could not determine whether the sea had an entrance or not. And as he desired to go to the island which they called *Babeque* where he had information, according to what he understood, that there was a great deal of gold, which island projected to the east of him and as he saw no large villages where he could place himself in shelter from the wind which increased more than ever up to that time, he decided to make for the sea, and go to the east with the wind, which was north, and he went eight miles each hour: and from ten o'clock in the day when he took that course, until sunset he went fifty-six miles from the *Cabo de Cuba* to the east, which are fourteen leagues. And of the other country of Bohio which remained to the leeward, commencing from the head of the aforesaid gulf he discovered, in his opinion, eighty miles, which are twenty leagues, and all that coast extends east-south-east and west-north-west.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 14.

All the night of yesterday he went cautiously and beating about [because he said that it was not reasonable to navigate among those islands at night until he had discovered them] as the Indians he was carrying told him yesterday [Tuesday] that it was about three days' journey from the river of *Mares* to the island of *Babeque*, which must be understood as days' journeys for their canoes, which can go seven leagues, and the wind also became light: and having to go to the east he could not [steer in that direction], except to the quarter of the south-east, and on account of other inconveniences which he refers to he had to stop there until morning. At sunrise he determined to go in search of a harbour, because the wind had changed from the north to the north-east, and if he did not find a harbour it would be necessary for him to turn backward to the harbours he had left on the island of Cuba. He reached land, having gone that night

¹ These were probably the mountains of *Moa*.

twenty-four miles to the east quarter south-east; he went to the south [lacuna] miles to land, where he saw many inlets and many small islands and harbours, and as the wind was high and the sea greatly changed he did not dare to undertake to enter, but rather he ran along the coast to the north-west, quarter west, searching for a harbour, and he saw that there were many but not very clear. After having gone in this manner sixty-four miles, he found a very deep inlet, a quarter of a mile wide, and a good harbour and river, where he entered and turned his prow to the south-south-west, and afterward to the south until he reached south-east, and all very wide and deep. Here he saw so many islands that he could not count them all, of good size, and very high lands covered with different trees of a thousand kinds and an infinite number of palms. He marvelled greatly to see so many high islands, and he says to the Sovereigns in regard to the mountains which he has seen since the day before yesterday along these coasts and on these islands, that it appears to him there are no higher ones in the world nor any as beautiful and clear, without fog or snow, and at the base the sea is of very great depth: and he says he believes that these islands are those innumerable ones which in the maps of the world are placed¹ at the end of the east: and he said that he believed there were very great riches and precious stones and spices upon them, and that they extend very far to the south and spread out in all directions. He named this place *La Mar de Nuestra Señora*, and the harbour which is near the entrance to the said islands he named *Puerto del Príncipe*, into which he did not enter more than to see it from outside, until another excursion which he made there the coming week, which will appear there. He says so many and such things of the fertility and beauty and height of these islands which he found in this harbour, that he tells the Sovereigns not to wonder that he praises them so much, because he assures them that he does not believe he has told the hundredth part. Some of them appeared to reach heaven and were like points of diamonds: others of great height which have a table on top, and at their base the sea is of very great depth so that a very large carack could approach them: and they are all covered with forests and are without rocks.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 15.

He decided to go among these islands with the boats from the ships and he says wonders in regard to them, and that he found mastic and a great quantity of aloes and some of them were covered with the roots from which the Indians make their bread, and he found that a fire had been kindled in some places. He saw no fresh water but there were some people and they fled. Everywhere he went he found a depth of fifteen and sixteen fathoms, and all "basa" which means that the bottom underneath is sand and not rock, which the sailors greatly desire, because the rocks cut the cables of the ships' anchors.

¹ On some of the early maps at the extremity of the east one finds represented a multitude of islands.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 16.

As in all the places, islands and lands where he entered he always left a cross planted, he entered the boat and went to the mouth of those harbours and on a point of the land he found two very large beams, one larger than the other, and the one upon the other made a cross, which he says a carpenter could not have made in better proportion: and having adored that cross, he ordered a very large, high cross made of the same timbers. He found canes along that beach and he says he did not know where they came from but he believed that some river brought them and cast them on the beach, and he was reasonable in thinking so. He went to a creek within the entrance of the harbour to the south-east [a creek is a narrow inlet where the water from the sea enters the land]: there the land formed a promontory of stone and rock like a cape, and at the base the sea was very deep, so that the largest carack in the world could lie against the land, and there was a place or corner where six ships could remain without anchors as in a hall. It appeared to him that a fortress¹ could be built there at small cost, if any notable commerce should result in that sea from those islands at any time. On returning to the ship he found the Indians he had with him fishing for very large snails which are found in those seas, and he made the people enter there and search for "nacaras" which are the oysters where pearls are formed, and they found many but no pearls and he attributed it to the fact that it could not have been the time for them, which he believed was in May and June. The sailors found an animal which appeared to be a "taso" or "taxo." They fished also with nets and found a fish among many others, which appeared like a genuine hog, not like a "tunny" which he says was all shell, very hard, and had nothing soft except the tail and the eyes and an opening underneath to expel its superfluities. He ordered it salted that he might take it for the Sovereigns to see.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 17.

He entered the boat in the morning and went to see the islands which he had not seen, in the direction of the south-west: he saw many others very fertile and very delightful and between them the sea was very deep. Some of them were divided by streams of fresh water, and he believed that that water and those streams came from springs which proceeded from the tops of the mountain ranges on the islands. Going onward from here he found a very beautiful river of fresh water and it flowed very cold through the dry part of the island: there was a very pretty meadow and many palms, much taller than those he had seen. He found large nuts like those of India, I believe he says, and large rats, also like those of India, and very large craw-fish. He saw many birds and smelled a powerful odour of musk [*almazique*], and believed that there must be

¹ We may notice that here, as in speaking of the north end of San Salvador, the language of Columbus suggests colonisation and permanent occupation.

some there. To-day, of the six youths whom he took in the river of *Marcos* and whom he ordered should go on the caravel *Niña*, the two oldest ones fled.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 18.

He proceeded in the boats again with many people from the ships and went to place the great cross which he had ordered made of the said two timbers at the mouth of the entrance of the said *Puerto del Principe*, in a slightly place and free from trees: It was very high and commanded a very beautiful view. He says that the sea rises and falls there much more than in any other harbour which has been seen in that country, and that it is not very wonderful by reason of the many islands, and that the tide is the reverse of ours, because there when the moon is to the south-west quarter south, it is low tide in that harbour. He did not start from there as it was Sunday.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 19.

He started in a calm before sunrise, and after mid-day it blew some to the east and he navigated to the north-north-east: at sunset the *Puerto del Principe* was to the south-south-west, and was about seven leagues from him. He saw the island of *Babeque* exactly to the east, about sixty miles distant. He sailed slowly all this night to the north-east; he went about sixty miles and until ten o'clock in the day, Tuesday, another twelve, which are in all eighteen leagues, and in the direction of the north-east quarter north.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 20.

Babeque or the islands of *Babeque* were to the east-south-east, from which direction the wind blew, which was contrary. And seeing that it did not alter and the sea was changing, he decided to make a short excursion to the *Puerto del Principe*, from whence he had come, which was at a distance of twenty-five leagues. He did not wish to go to the small island which he called *Isabella* which was at a distance of twelve leagues where he might have gone to anchor that day, for two reasons: one reason, because he perceived two islands to the south which he wished to see, the other that the Indians he was carrying, whom he had taken in *Guanahani* which he called *San Salvador* which was eight leagues from *Isabella*, might not get away from him, of whom he says he has need, in order to bring them to Castile, etc. They had understood, he says, that on finding gold the Admiral would allow them to return to their country. He arrived at the place of the *Puerto del Principe*: but he could not make it because it was night and because the currents caused him to decline to the north-west. He came back again and turned his prow to the north-east with a strong wind: it calmed and the wind changed at the third quarter of the night, and he turned his prow to the east, quarter north-east: the wind was south-south-east and it changed at dawn entirely to the south, and touched upon the south-east. At sunrise he marked the *Puerto del Prin-*

cipe, and it was south-west of him and almost in the quarter of the west, and it was about 48 miles distant from him, which are twelve leagues.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 21.

At sunrise he navigated to the east with the wind south. He made little headway on account of the contrary sea: until the hour of vespers he had gone twenty-four miles. Then the wind changed to the east and he went to the south, quarter south-east and at sunset he had gone twelve miles. There the Admiral found himself forty-two degrees from the equinoctial line in the direction of the north as in the harbour of *Mars*: but here he says that *he has abandoned the use of the quadrant until he reaches land in order to repair it*. So that it appeared to him that he could not be so far distant, and he was right, because it was not possible for these islands to be only in [lacuna] degrees. He was moved to believe, he says, that the quadrant was correct by seeing that the North Star was as high as in Castile, and if this is true he had drawn very near to, and was as high as the coast of Florida: but,—where then, are now these islands which he had under consideration. He was persuaded to believe this because it was very warm: but it is clear that if he was on the coast of Florida that it would not be warm but cold: and it is also manifest that in forty-two degrees in no part of the earth is it believed to be warm without it might be for some cause *per accidens*, which I do not believe is known up to the present time. On account of this heat which the Admiral says he suffered there, he argues that in these Indies and in the place where he was, there must be a great deal of gold.¹ This day Martin Alonso Pinzón went away with the caravel *Pinta* without the will and command of the Admiral, through avarice, he says, thinking that an Indian whom the Admiral had ordered placed on the caravel, could show him much gold, and so he went away without waiting and without its being on account of bad weather, but because he wished to do so. And the Admiral says here, "*He has done and said many other things to me.*"

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 22.

Wednesday in the night he navigated to the south quarter south-east with the wind east, and it was almost a calm: at the third quarter it blew north-north-east. He was yet going toward the south in order to see that country which lay in that direction from him and when the sun rose he found himself as far distant as on the past day because of the contrary currents, and the land was a distance of forty miles from him. This night Martin Alonso followed the course to the east in order to go to the island

¹ As before where these degrees are used, they are to be interpreted as half-degrees. Thus the altitude will be 21 degrees. But this is not in accord with the remark of Las Casas concerning the temperature usually found at 42° of latitude. We imagine Las Casas is trying to explain that this location was not 42° but really 21°, a likely region for gold, which was then believed to be the produce of southern climes.

of *Babeque*, where the Indians say there is a great deal of gold, and he was going in sight of the Admiral and might have been at a distance of sixteen miles. The Admiral went in sight of land all night and he caused some of the sails to be taken in and burned a torch all night, because it appeared to him that Martin Alonso was returning to him; and the night was very clear and there was a nice little breeze by which to come to him if he wished.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 23.

The Admiral navigated toward land all day, always to the south with a light wind, and the current never permitted him to reach land, but rather he was as far from it to-day at sunset as he was in the morning. The wind was east-north-east and favourable to go to the south, but it was light: and beyond this cape there was another land or cape which also extends to the east which the Indians he was carrying called *Bohio*, and which they said was very large and had upon it people who had an eye in the forehead and others which were called cannibals of whom they showed great fear. And as soon as they saw that they were taking that course, he says that they could not talk, as they said cannibals ate them and they are a people who are very well armed. The Admiral says he well believes there was some truth in it, although since they were armed they must be an intelligent people, and he believed that they had captured some of the other Indians and that because they did not return to their own country, they would say that they ate them. They believed the same in regard to the Christians and the Admiral, when some of them first saw them.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 24.

He navigated all that night and at the hour of "tercia"¹ he made land off the level island, in that same place where he had put into harbour the past week when he was going to the island of *Babeque*. At first he did not dare to land because it appeared to him that the sea broke heavily in that opening in the mountain ranges. And finally he arrived at the *Mar de Nuestra Señora* where the many islands were, and he entered the harbour near the mouth of the entrance to the islands, and he says that if he had known this harbour before and had not occupied himself in seeing the islands of the Sea of Our Lady [*Mar de Nuestra Señora*] that it would not have been necessary for him to turn backward although he says that he considers it time well employed in having seen the said islands. So that on arriving at land he sent the boat and tried the harbour and found it a very good bar, six fathoms deep and sometimes twenty, and clear, and all with a sandy bottom: he entered it, turning the prow to the south-west, and afterwards turning to the west, leaving the flat island toward the north, which with another near to it makes a bay in the sea, in which all the ships of Spain could be contained, and could be safe from all the winds without anchorage. And this entrance on the south-eastern part which may be entered by

¹ Nine o'clock in the morning.

placing the prow to the south-south-west, has an outlet to the west, very deep and very wide: so that whoever might come from the sea on the northern part can pass between the said islands and obtain knowledge of them, as it is the direct passage along this coast. These said islands are at the base of a great mountain¹ which extends lengthwise from east to west, and is exceedingly long and higher and longer than any of all the others which are upon this coast where there is an infinite number, and a rocky reef extends outside along the said mountain like a bar, which reaches as far as the entrance. All this is on the south-eastern part and also on the side of the flat island there is another reef, although this is small, and thus between both there is great width and great depth of water as has been said. Then at the entrance on the south-eastern side, inside in the same harbour, they saw a large and very beautiful river, and with more water than they had seen until that time and the water of which was fresh as far as the sea. It has a bar at the entrance but afterwards inside it is very deep, eight or nine fathoms. The land is all covered with palms and has many groves like ours.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 25.

Before sunset he entered the boat and went to see a cape or point of land to the south-east of the small flat island, a matter of a league and a half because it appeared to him that there must be some good river there. Then at the entrance of the cape on the south-eastern part, at a distance of two cross-bow shots, he saw a large stream of very fine water flowing, which descended from a mountain and made a great noise.² He went to the river and saw in it some glittering stones with spots on them of the colour of gold, and he remembered that in the river Tejo [Tagus], at the foot of it near the sea, gold was found and it appeared to him that there certainly must be gold here and he ordered certain of those stones to be gathered to carry them to the Sovereigns. While they were in this place the ship-boys cried out saying that they saw pines. He looked toward the mountain ranges and saw them [the pines], so large and wonderful that he could not exaggerate their height and straightness, like spindles, both thick ones and slender ones. From these he knew that ships could be made and a great quantity of timber and masts for the largest vessels of Spain. He saw oak-trees and strawberry-trees and a good river and the materials necessary for saw-mills. The land and the breezes were more temperate than up to the present time, on account of the height and beauty of the mountain ranges. He saw along the beach many other stones of the colour of iron, and others which some said were from silver mines, all of which were brought by the river. There he got a lateen yard and mast for the mizzen of the caravel *Niña*. He reached the mouth of the river

¹ One of the mountains of Moa.

² The stream which runs into the Bay of Moa has a fall of nearly three hundred feet, and it is probable that this may be identified as the very stream seen by the Admiral on Sunday, November 25, 1492.

and entered a bay at the foot of that cape on the south-eastern side which was very large and deep and which would contain a hundred ships without any cables or anchors and eyes never saw such another harbour. The chains of mountains were very high, from which many delightful streams descended: and all the ranges were covered with pines and everywhere there were the most diverse and beautiful thickets of trees. There were two or three other rivers which lay behind him. He praises all this highly to the Sovereigns and shows that he experienced inestimable joy and pleasure in seeing it, and especially the pines, because as many ships as desired could be built there by bringing the necessary implements, except wood and fish of which there is an enormous quantity there. And he affirms that he has not praised it a hundredth part as much as it deserves and that it pleased our Lord to continually show him something better, and always in what he had discovered up to the present time he had been going from good to better, as well in the trees and forests and grasses and fruits and flowers, as in the people and always in a different manner and in one place the same as in another. The same was true in regard to the harbours and the waters. And finally he says that when he who sees it wonders at it so greatly, how much more wonderful it will seem to those who hear of it, and that no one will be able to believe it until he sees it.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 26.

At sunrise he weighed the anchors from the harbour of *Santa Catalina* where he was, inside the low island, and navigated along the coast in a rather light wind south-west in the direction of the *Cabo del Pico* which lay to the south-east. He reached the cape late because the wind calmed, and having arrived he saw to the south-east, quarter east, another cape which might have been sixty miles distant and near there he saw another cape which was about south-east of the ship, quarter south, and it appeared to him that it might have been twenty miles distant, which he named *Cabo de Campana* and which he could not reach in the day-time because the wind calmed again altogether. He went during that entire day about thirty-two miles which are eight leagues. Within that distance he noted and marked nine very distinct harbours which all the seamen considered wonderful, and five large rivers, because he went near to the land all the time in order to see everything well. All that country consists of very high and beautiful mountains and they are not dry or rocky but are all accessible and there are most beautiful valleys. And the valleys as well as the mountains were covered with tall and verdant trees, so that it was a pleasure to look at them, and it appeared that there were many pines. And also beyond the said *Cabo del Pico* on the south-eastern side, there were two small islands which were each about two leagues around and in them there were three wonderful harbours and two large rivers. On all this coast he saw no town whatever from the sea. It might have been that there were people and there are signs of them, because whenever they went on land they found signs of habitations and many fires. He thought

that the country he now saw in the south-east direction from the *Cabo de Campana* was the island which the Indians called *Bohio*: it appears so to him because the said cape is separated from that land. All the people that he has found up to the present time, he says are in great fear of the people of *Caniba* or *Canima*, and they say they live on this island of *Bohio*. This island must be very large, as it appears to him, and he believes that the people on it go and take the other Indians and their lands and houses, as they are very cowardly and do not know about arms. And for this cause it appeared to him that those Indians he was taking with him were not accustomed to settle on the coast of the sea, on account of being near this country. These Indians, he says, after they saw him take the course to this country, could not speak, fearing that they were to be eaten, and he was not able to free them from fear, and they said that the people there had only one eye and the face of a dog and the Admiral believed that they lied: and the Admiral felt that they must belong to the domains of the Great Khan, who captured them.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 27.

Yesterday at sunset he arrived near a cape which he called *Campana* and as the sky was clear and the wind light he did not wish to go to land to anchor although he had five or six wonderful harbours to the leeward, because he was detained more than he desired by the pleasure and delight he felt and experienced in seeing and gazing on the beauty and freshness of those countries wherever he entered, and as he did not wish to be delayed in prosecuting what he was engaged upon. For these reasons he remained that night beating about and standing off and on until day. And as the rapid currents that night had taken him more than five or six leagues farther to the south-east than he was at nightfall where the country of *Campana* had appeared to him: and beyond that point there appeared a great inlet which seemed to divide one country from the other, and made the appearance of an island in the middle: he decided to turn backward with the wind south-west, and he arrived where the opening had appeared to him, and he found that it was only a large bay and at the head of it on the south-eastern side was a point upon which there was a high and square mountain which appeared like an island. The wind changed to the north and he again took his course to the south-east in order to go along the coast and discover all that there might be there. And he saw then at the foot of that *Cabo de Campana* a wonderful harbour and a large river and a quarter of a league from there another river and a half league from there another river and another half league from there another river, and a league from there another river, and another league from there another river, and another quarter of a league from there another river, and another league from there another large river, from which latter river to the *Cabo de Campana* it was about twenty miles, and they lay south-east of him. And the greater part of these rivers had large mouths, wide and clear, with wonderful harbours for very large ships, without rocky or sandy bars

or reefs. Coming thus along the coast in the direction of the south-east from the said last river he found a large village, the largest he had found until then, and he saw a great number of people come to the sea-shore crying out loudly, all naked and with their spears in their hands. He desired to speak with them and lowered the sails and anchored and sent the boats from the ship and the caravel in an orderly manner, that the Spaniards might not do any harm to the Indians or receive any from them, commanding them to give the Indians some trifles from their articles of barter. The Indians made an appearance of not allowing them to land and of resisting them. And seeing that the boats approached nearer to the land and that the Spaniards were not afraid, they withdrew from the sea. And believing that if two or three men got out of the boats they would not be afraid, three Christians landed telling them in their language not to be afraid, as they knew something of the language from conversation with the Indians they were taking with them. Finally they all started to flee so that neither a grown person nor child remained. The three Christians went to the houses which are made of straw and of the same shape as the others they had seen, and they found no one and nothing in any of them. They returned to the ships and spread the sails at mid-day to go to a beautiful cape which lay to the east, at a distance of about eight leagues. Having gone half a league along the same bay the Admiral saw in the direction of the south a very remarkable harbour and in the direction of the south-east some wonderfully beautiful countries, similar to a hilly tract of fruitful ground surrounded by mountains, and a great quantity of smoke and large villages appeared in it and the lands were highly cultivated. On this account he determined to go down to this harbour and try and see if he could have speech and intercourse with the people. He says that if he had praised the other harbours, this one was such that he praised it more, together with the countries and their surroundings and the temperate climate and the population: he says wonders about the beauty of the land and of the trees where there are pines and palms, and about the great plain which however is not entirely level [*no es llanode llano*] and extends to the south-south-east, but is full of low smooth mountains, the most beautiful thing in the world, and many streams of water flow out from it, which descend from these mountains. After having anchored the vessel the Admiral jumped into the boat to sound the harbour, which is shaped like a small hammer: and when he was facing the entrance to the south he found the mouth of a river which was wide enough for a galley to enter it and so situated that it could not be seen until it was reached, and in entering it a boat's length it was five fathoms and eight fathoms in depth. In going along this river it was a wonderful thing to see the groves and verdure and the very clear water and the birds and the agreeableness, so that he says it appeared to him that he did not wish to leave there. He went on, saying to the men he had in his company that in order to make a relation to the Sovereigns of the things they saw, a thousand tongues would not be sufficient to tell it nor his hand to write

it, as it appeared to him that he was enchanted. He desired that many other prudent persons and of good credit should see it, so as to be certain, he says, that they did not praise these things less than he did. The Admiral further says these words here:

"How great will be the benefit which can be derived from here, I do not write. It is certain, Lords and Princes, that where there are such lands there must be an infinite quantity of profitable things: but I do not stop in any harbour because I would like to see the greatest number of lands that I can, so as to tell your Highnesses about them, and also I do not know the language, and the people of these lands do not understand me, nor do I or any other person I have with me, understand them: and *these Indians I am taking with me, many times understand things contrary to what they are*, neither do I trust much to them because they have attempted flight several times. But now, our Lord pleasing, I will see the most that I can, and little by little I will go investigating and learning, and will cause this language to be taught to persons of my house because I see that the language is all one up to the present: and then the benefits will be known, and one will labour to make all these peoples Christians as it can be done easily, because they have no sect nor are they idolaters, and your Highnesses will order a city and fortress to be built in these regions and these countries will be converted. And I certify to your Highnesses that it does not appear to me that there can be under the sun countries more fertile, more temperate in heat and cold, with a greater abundance of good and healthy waters, not like the rivers of Guinea which are all pestilent; because, praised be our Lord, until to-day, of all my people I have not had a person who has had the headache or has been in bed from sickness, except one old man through pain from gravel, from which he has suffered all his life, and then he became well at the end of two days. I say this in regard to all three ships. So that it will please God that your Highnesses shall send learned men here, or they shall come and they will then see the truth of everything. And as previously I have spoken of the site of a village or fortress on the *Rio de Marcos* on account of the good harbour and the surrounding territory: it is certain that all I have said is true, but there is no comparison between that place and this, neither with the *Mar de Nuestra Señora*: as here there must be large villages and an innumerable population inland and things of great profit; because here and in all the other countries I have discovered and which I hope to discover before I go to Castile, I say that Christendom will enter into negotiations, and Spain much more than the rest, to which all must be subject. And I say that, your Highnesses must not consent that any foreigner set foot here or trade but only Catholic Christians, since *this was the beginning and the end of the proposition that it should be for the increase and glory of the Christian religion*, and that no one should come to these regions who is not a good Christian." All are his words. He ascended the river there and found some branches and going around the harbour he found at the mouth of the river there were some very pleasant groves like a most delightful orchard, and there

he found a raft or canoe made of a timber as large as a fusta with twelve benches for the rowers and very beautiful, stranded under a shed made of wood, and covered with great palm leaves, so that neither the sun nor the water could injure it; and he says that there was the right place to build a village or city and fortress on account of the good harbour, good waters, good lands, good surroundings and great quantity of wood.¹

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 28.

He remained in that harbour that day because it rained and was very dark and cloudy, although he could have run along the coast with the wind, which was south-west and would be at the stern [*á popa*], but as he could not see the land well and not being acquainted with it, it was dangerous to the ships, and he did not start. The people of the ships landed to wash their clothes and some of them went inland a little ways and found large villages and empty houses because all the people had fled. They returned down along another river, larger than the one where they were, in the harbour.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 29.

As it rained and the sky was clouded they did not start. Some of the Christians reached another village near by in the direction of the north-west, and they found nothing and no one in the houses: and on the way they encountered an old man who could not flee from them: they took him and said to him that they did not wish to do him harm, and they gave him some trifles from the articles of barter and left him. The Admiral would have liked to see him to clothe him and talk with him, because he was greatly pleased with the felicity of that land and its disposition to make a settlement in it, and he judged that there must be large villages. They found in one house a cake of wax,² which he brought to the Sove-

¹ Las Casas, in the *Historia*, after a direct quotation from the Admiral, remarks:

"All these are the exact words of the Admiral, although some of them are not in perfect Castilian-Romance, as it was not the mother tongue of the Admiral."

Farther on, speaking of the sentiments rather than the phraseology of the Admiral, Las Casas says:

"Two things now appear to me worthy of notice from these words, first that in all the different islands and parts of islands discovered by him he found the people meek and docile and considered them apt for receiving the Holy Faith: and, second, that the Admiral recognised the aim of all his efforts and of the discovery of those lands and people, to be their conversion and the increase and glory of the Christian religion."

² In the *Historia*, speaking of the cake of wax, Las Casas says:

"This wax never was made on the island of Cuba, and this cake that he found was from the realm and provinces of Yucatan, where there was an immense quantity of yellow wax, very good, which could have come here: either because some Indians from that island might have gone to Yucatan in their canoes, or some Indian traders from the provinces of Yucatan, who trade through many parts of the coast of that main-land, might have been overturned in their canoe by a tempest, and the waters might have carried it to the coast of Cuba . . . and for this reason it has a great appearance of truth, and I believe that it should not be doubted at all.

"As I was going along the island of Cuba with certain Spaniards who accompanied me in the year 1514, being in another condition than that which I afterwards took, although ecclesiastic, . . . in the province of Havana, almost in that part

reigns and he says that where there is wax there must also be a thousand other good things. The sailors also found in one house the head of a man in a little basket covered with another little basket and fastened to a post of the house and in the same manner they found another in another village. The Admiral believed that they must be the heads of some principal persons of the family, because those houses were such that many people could take refuge in one alone, and they must be relations descended from one person alone.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 30.

He could not start because the wind was east, very contrary to his course. He sent eight men well armed and with them two Indians from among those he was taking with him to see the villages within the country and to talk with the inhabitants. They reached many houses and found nothing nor any one, as all had fled. They saw four youths who were digging in their fields, but as they saw the Christians they fled and they could not overtake them. They went a long distance, he says. They saw many settlements and very fertile ground and all cultivated and large streams of water and near one they saw a raft or canoe ninety-five palms long built of one single timber and very beautiful, and it would hold one hundred and fifty persons and they could navigate in it.¹

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 1.

He did not start as the wind was still contrary and as it rained hard. He placed a large cross at the entrance of that harbour which I believe he called the *Puerto Santo*,² in some solid rocks. The point is the one on the south-eastern side at the entrance to the harbour and whoever is obliged to enter this harbour must approach nearer to the point on the north-west than to the other on the south-east. Although at the foot of both points, next to the rock, there are twelve fathoms of water and it is very clear, yet at the entrance to the harbour, off the south-east point there is a shoal which shows above the surface of the water, which is far enough distant from

where the port called Carenas is found, where all the vessels from all parts of the main-land come to join each other, which is on the southern coast,—we found a large cake of wax, which would weigh a good arroba, all buried in the sand, and by chance either I or another in walking on the beach with a stick or staff in the hand, encountered it, although it hardly appeared above the surface, and as the stick easily penetrated it we saw that it was wax: we were very much amazed, not being able to guess how that wax could have come there, because Yucatan or New Spain or any other land where there might be wax, until then never were discovered or known. We judged and almost knew that no vessel could have come into that sea up to that time and lost it and the sea afterward brought it there. So that I never was able to gain any indication of how that wax came there, until Yucatan was discovered, and having heard of the fertility and abundance of the bees and bee-hives found there, then I judged that it might have come from that province in the said manner."

¹ In speaking of the beautiful canoes, Las Casas says: "It is not so wonderful since there are on that island very tall, large, long, and odoriferous red cedars and commonly all the canoes are made of those precious trees."

² Navarrete thinks this port is Baracoa.

the point so that one can pass between them if necessary, because at the foot of the shoal and of the cape the water is all twelve or fifteen fathoms deep, and at the entrance the *prow* must be turned to the south-west.

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 2.

The wind was still contrary and he could not start. He says that every night there is a land breeze and that all the ships that may come there need have no fear of all the tempests in the world because they cannot reach the ships inside, on account of a shoal which is at the entrance to the harbour, etc. In the mouth of that river he says a ship's boy found certain stones which appeared to contain gold, and he brought them to show to the Sovereigns. He says that at a distance of a lombard shot from that place there are large rivers.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 3.

As the wind continued contrary he did not start from that harbour and he decided to go and see a very beautiful cape a quarter of a league from the harbour in the direction of the south-east: he went with the boats and some armed people: at the foot of the cape there was the mouth of a good river. He turned his *prow* to the south-east in order to enter and it was a hundred paces in width: it was a fathom deep at the entrance or in the mouth; but inside it was twelve fathoms, or five, and four, and two, and would contain as many ships as there are in Spain. Passing a branch of that river he went to the south-east and found a small bay or inlet in which he saw five very large rafts which the Indians call *canoes*, like *fustas*, very beautiful, and carved so that he says it was a pleasure to see them and at the foot of the mountain he saw that the land was all cultivated. They were under some very thick trees and in going along a path which led to them, they came across a ship yard very well arranged and covered so that neither the sun nor the water could do injury, and in it there was another canoe made of wood like the rest, like a *fusta* with seventeen benches for the rowers: it was a pleasure to see how it was constructed and its beauty. He ascended a mountain and then he found it all level and sowed with many products of the land and gourds, and it was delightful to see it: and in the midst of it there was a large village. He came suddenly upon the people of the village and as they saw the Spaniards they started to flee. The Indian whom the Spaniards had with them reassured them saying that they must not be afraid as they were good people. The Admiral caused them to be given hawks' bells and rings of brass and little green and yellow glass beads, with which they were much pleased. He saw that they had no gold nor any other precious thing and that it was sufficient to leave them in security and that all the surrounding territory was populated and that the others fled through fear: and the Admiral assures the Sovereigns that ten men cause ten thousand Indians to flee. They are such cowards and so fearful that they carry

no arms except spears, and on the end of the spears they have a small sharp stick which is hardened. He decided to return. He says that he easily took all the spears away from them, trading for them so that they gave away all they had. Having returned to the place where he had left the boats he sent certain Christians to the place where he had ascended, because it appeared to him that he had seen a large apiary. Before these people whom he had sent, returned, many Indians gathered and came to the boats where the Admiral had already united all his people. One of them went forward into the water near to the stern of the boat, and made a long speech which the Admiral did not understand, except that the other Indians from time to time raised their hands to heaven and shouted loudly. The Admiral thought they were re-assuring him and that his coming pleased them; but he saw the Indian he was taking with him change countenance and become yellow like wax and tremble greatly, saying by signs that the Admiral must go away out of the river as the Indians wished to kill them: and he approached a Christian who had a loaded cross-bow and showed it to the Indians and the Admiral understood that he said to them that it would kill them all because that cross-bow went a long ways and killed. He also took a sword and drew it from the scabbard, showing it to them and saying the same thing and when they heard that, they all commenced to flee, leaving the said Indian still trembling through cowardice and lack of courage, and he was a strong man and of good stature. The Admiral would not go out of the river but rather made them row inland toward the place where the Indians were, who were in great number, all stained with red and naked as their mothers gave them birth and some of them had feathers upon their heads and other plumes, and they all had handfuls of spears. "I approached them and gave them some mouthfuls of bread and asked them for their spears and I gave them for the spears, to some a small hawk's bell, to others a cheap little brass ring, and to others some worthless little beads: so that they all became pacified and they all came to the boats and gave us whatever they had for whatever was given them. The sailors had killed a tortoise and the pieces of the shell lay in the boat and the boys gave the Indians a piece as large as the finger nail, and the Indians gave them a handful of spears. They are people like the others I have found [says the Admiral] and have the same belief, and they believe that we came from heaven and whatever they have they without saying that it is little then give for whatever may be given them, and I believe that they would do the same with spices and gold if they had them. I saw a beautiful house not very large and having two doors, as they are all built so, and I entered it and saw a wonderful arrangement like chambers constructed in a certain manner which I do not know how to describe, with shells and other things fastened to the ceiling. And I thought it was a temple, and I called them and asked by signs if they prayed in it, and they said no, and one of them went up overhead and gave me all they had there, and I took some of it."

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 4.

He made sail with a light wind and went out of that port which he named *Puerto Santo*: at a distance of two leagues he saw a good river of which he spoke yesterday. He went along the coast and all the land beyond the said cape extended east-south-east and west-north-west as far as *Cabo Lindo* which is to the east of the *Cabo del Monte* quarter south-east, and it is five leagues from one to the other. A league and a half from the *Cabo del Monte* there is another large river, somewhat crooked, and it appeared to have a good entrance and to be very deep; and three-quarters of a league from there he saw another very large river and it must flow from a long distance. It was a good one hundred paces wide at the mouth and there was no shoal in it and it was eight fathoms deep and had a good entrance, because he sent a boat to see it and sound it: and the water is fresh at some distance out into the sea and it is one of the richest he has found and must have large villages. Beyond *Cabo Lindo* there is a large bay which extends some distance to the east-north-east and south-east and south-south-west.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 5.

During all this night he beat about off *Cabo Lindo*, where he was at nightfall, in order to see the country which extended to the east and at sunrise he saw another cape two leagues and a half to the east: having passed that he saw that the coast turned to the south and inclined to the south-west and then saw a very high and beautiful cape in the said course and it was distant seven leagues from the other: He would have liked to go there had it not been that he was desirous of going to the island of *Babeque* which lay to the north-east according to what the Indians he was taking with him said, so he left it. Neither could he go to *Babeque* because the wind which was prevailing was north-east. While going along in this manner he looked to the south-east and saw land¹ and it was a very large island of which he says he had already been told by the Indians and that they called it *Bohio* and it was inhabited. He says that the inhabitants of *Cuba* or *Juana* and of all the other islands are very much afraid of these people, because he says that they eat men. The said Indians told him other very wonderful things by signs: but the Admiral does not say that he believed them, only that the natives of that island of *Bohio* must be more astute and intelligent in order to capture the others, as they were very much lacking in courage. Therefore as the wind was north-east and was becoming north, he determined to leave *Cuba* or *Juana*, which up to that time he had considered to be the continental land on account of its size as he had gone fully one hundred and twenty leagues on one of its coasts, and he started to the south-east quarter east; although the land which he had seen receded to the south-east this insured protec-

¹ This is the first sight of Española, the island which was destined to play so important a part in the history of the New World.

tion, because the wind always changed around from north to north-east and from there to the east and south-east. The wind changed a great deal and he carried all his sails, the sea was calm and the current helped him so that from morning until one o'clock he made eight miles an hour and that was not quite six hours, because they say there that the nights are about fifteen hours; afterwards he went ten miles an hour: and in this manner he went until sunset eighty-eight miles, which are twenty-two leagues all to the south-east. And as it was getting towards night, the Admiral ordered the caravel *Niña* to go onward and see the harbour by daylight, as she was a fast sailor: and on reaching the mouth of the harbour which was like the bay of Cadiz and as it was already night, the *Niña* sent her boat to sound the harbour which boat carried a lighted candle: and before the Admiral reached the place where the caravel was beating about and waiting for the boat to make signals to enter the harbour, the light in the boat was extinguished. As they saw no light the caravel ran out and made a light for the Admiral to see and he having reached them, they told him what had happened. While they were in this situation, the people in the boat made another light. The caravel went to the boat and the Admiral was not able to do so and remained all that night beating about.¹

¹ In speaking of his going to the island of Babeque the *Historia* says:

"We do not know what this island of Babeque was, unless the Indians made them understand that in that direction [toward the north-east] there was a country and in it gold, because it was towards the island of the 'Lucayos,' from which the Indians were taken whom he had with him, so that they could escape to their country,—or perhaps the Admiral did not understand them, having his thoughts and desires always fixed on finding countries rich in gold, in order to give pleasure to the Sovereigns and fulfil what he had offered to them."

In the next passage the reader will notice the curious mistake of Las Casas respecting Toscanelli and Marco Polo. In speaking of the Admiral's determination to leave the island of Cuba Las Casas says:

"And leaving the Cape or Eastern point of Cuba, he named it Alpha and Omega, which means beginning and end, because he believed that that Cape was the end of the main-land going toward the east, and the Admiral made the beginning the Cape of St. Vincent, which is in Portugal, which he believed to be the commencement or beginning of the said main-land, starting and navigating from the said Cape St. Vincent toward the west. The Admiral said this in a letter which he wrote from the island of Española to the Sovereigns. Here is to be noted what we referred to above in chapter xii., that the Admiral received letters from one *Marco Paulo*, a Florentine physician, who sent him a figure or parchment chart, and on it he painted all the land of the Great Khan and the province of Mango, which was near Catayo, certifying that he must first encounter the island of Cipango, very rich in gold, silver, pearls, spices and other profitable things. According to the said Paul, the physician, it had a circuit of 2400 miles which are 600 leagues, which lands and realms, although in respect to Italy they were to the east, Paul, the physician, nevertheless said would be found by going toward the west, as the world is round; and as by the leagues and distance which he had indicated to him in the chart which he sent to the Admiral, it was about 800 leagues, which having navigated, he affirmed he must find the land of the Great Khan, and thus having sailed a little less, he discovered those islands and the island of Cuba, which by its length, as has been said, he esteemed to be main-land,—he therefore always considered it certain that that Cape of Cuba was the end of the east which answered to the Cape San Vincent, on which account he named it Alpha and Omega: which he believed was the Cape of the land of the Great Khan, which in the chart or map which Paul, the physician sent him, was said to be written Zaitam. . . . From the aforesaid the Admiral always conceived that he was in the 'alda' or among the capes of the land of the Great Khan, from the said relation of Paul, the physician, and for many days he believed that Española was the island of Cipango, and he certainly had reason in the first place."

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 6.

When dawn came he found himself four leagues from the harbour. He named it Puerto Maria ¹ and he saw a beautiful cape to the south, quarter south-west which he named *Cabo del Estrella*,² and it appeared to him that it was the last land of that island toward the south, and that the Admiral was about twenty-eight miles distant from it. Another country appeared to the east, like an island of no great size, at a distance of about forty miles. Another very beautiful cape of good shape lay to the east quarter south-east which he named *Cabo del Elefante*,³ and it was fifty-four miles distant from him. Another cape lay to the east-south-east which he named *Cabo de Cinquin*, and it was about twenty-eight miles distant from him. There was a large opening or arm of the sea which appeared like a river ⁴ to the south-east a little on the quarter of the east, and it was a matter of twenty miles distant from him. It appeared to him that between the *Cabo del Elefante* and *Cinquin* there was a very large channel and some of the sailors said it was a division of the island: he named that the *Isla de la Tortuga*.⁵ That great island appeared to be a very high land, not encircled by mountains but level like beautiful fields and it appeared to be all cultivated or a large part of it and the crops looked like wheat in the month of May in the country of Cordova. They saw many fires that night and by day much smoke like watch towers which appeared to be to guard against some people with whom they might be at war. All the coast of this land extends to the east. At the hour of vespers they entered the said harbour and as it was the day of St. Nicholas he named it *Puerto de San Nicolao*, in his honour, and at the entrance of the harbour they wondered at its beauty and goodness. And although he has praised the harbours of Cuba greatly, still without doubt he says that this one is not inferior but rather surpasses them and none of them are similar to it. At the mouth and entrance it is a league and a half wide and the prow is turned to the south-south-east, although on account of the great width the prow can be turned wherever desired. It extends in this manner to the south-south-east two leagues: and at its entrance in the direction of the south it forms something like a promontory and from there it extends thus level as far as the cape where there is a very beautiful

¹ This is the Mole Saint Nicolas.

² This is the Cape of Saint Nicolas. It was on the feast day of this saint that Columbus entered the superb harbour. This bay of Saint Nicolas is to the western part of the island what the bay of Samana is to the eastern part. It has sometimes been called the Gibraltar of the New World, but while many defences have been built there, they have never withstood attack and Christopher, the Negro King or Emperor of Haiti, ordered those in his time to be dismantled.

³ This is supposed to be the Point Palmista.

⁴ This probably is the Puerto Escudo.

⁵ Thus the Admiral himself, on his first coming to Española, gave to Tortugas its name, the Spanish word for turtle, which animal its general contour resembles. It is something over twenty miles long by about five miles wide and is famous for its having once been the home of the Buccaneers in the seventeenth century.

beach and a field of trees of a thousand kinds and all loaded with fruits which the Admiral believed to be spices and nutmegs but as they were not ripe he did not recognise the kind: and there was a river in the middle of the beach. The depth of this harbour is wonderful as up to arriving at land for a length of [lacuna] the lead did not touch the bottom at forty fathoms and there is, up to this stretch of water, a depth of fifteen fathoms and it is very clear, and so all the said harbour from each point up to the distance of a pace from land, is fifteen fathoms deep and clear. And in this manner all the water along the coast is very deep and clear so that not a single shoal appears: and at the foot of the land at about the distance of a boat's oar from it, it is five fathoms in depth and beyond the space of the said harbour, extending to the south-south-east, in which harbour a thousand caracks could beat about, an inlet of the harbour extends to the north-east a good half league inland, and always of the same width as if it were measured with a cord. It is so situated that being in that inlet which is twenty-five paces in width, the mouth of the large entrance cannot be seen, so that this harbour is inclosed; and the depth of this inlet from the beginning to the end is eleven fathoms and it all has a sandy bottom and it is eight fathoms deep up to where the vessels can touch land. All the harbour is very breezy and *desabahado* [shelterless] and there are no trees around it. All this island appears to have more rocks than any other which has been found: the trees are smaller and many of them are the same kind as those in Spain such as evergreen oaks and strawberry trees and others, and the same thing is true in regard to the grasses. The land is very high and all smooth and the breezes are very good, and it has not been as cold anywhere as here, although it is not to be considered as cold, but the Admiral called it so in comparison with the other countries. Opposite that harbour there was a beautiful plain and in the centre of it the aforesaid river: and in that region, he says, there must be great numbers of people since they saw the canoes in which so many of them navigate and some of them as large as a "fusta" with fifteen benches for the rowers. All the Indians fled when they saw the ships. Those Indians he was taking with him from the small islands were so desirous of going to their country, that they thought [says the Admiral] that after he left this place he was to take them to their homes, and that already they were suspicious because he did not take the route for their homes. On this account he says that he did not believe what they said nor did he understand them well nor did they understand him, and he says they were in the greatest fear in the world of the people of that island. So that if he had desired to talk with the people of that island it would have been necessary for him to remain there some days in that harbour, but he did not do it on account of seeing so much land and as he was doubtful that the good weather would continue. He hoped in the Lord that the Indians he was carrying would know his language and he would know theirs, and then he would return and would talk with this people, and that it would please the Lord [he says] that he should find a good trade in gold before he returned.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 7.

At the passing of the quarter of dawn he made sail and started out of that *Puerto de San Nicolas* and navigated with the wind south-west two leagues to the north-east as far as a point which the *Carenero* makes, and a small promontory lay to the south-east and the *Cabo de la Estrella* to the south-west and from this the Admiral was twenty-four miles distant. From there he navigated to the east along the coast as far as *Cabo Cinquin*, a distance of about forty-eight miles. It is true that twenty miles of this extended to the east, quarter north-east and that coast is all a very high land and the water of great depth: it is twenty and thirty fathoms up to the edge of the land and at a distance of a lombard shot from land the bottom cannot be reached. The Admiral proved all this on that day along the coast, much to his pleasure, with the wind south-west. The promontory above mentioned, he says, reaches within a lombard shot of the *Puerto de San Nicolas*, and if it were cut off and made an island, it would be about three or four miles around. All that country was very high and did not have large trees but only evergreen oaks and strawberry-trees the same he says, as in the land of Castile. Before he reached the *Cabo Cinquin* and within two leagues, he discovered a small opening¹ like a cut in the mountain, through which he discovered a very large valley and he saw that it was all sown with barley and he thought that there must be a great many people in that valley and on the borders of it there were large and high mountains and when he reached the *Cabo de Cinquin* the *Cabo de la Tortuga* lay to the north-east at a distance of about thirty-two miles, and off this *Cabo Cinquin* at the distance of a lombard shot is a rock in the sea which stands high up and which can be seen very well. And the Admiral being off the said Cape the *Cabo del Elefante* lay to the east, quarter south-east and was at a distance of about seventy miles and all the land was very high. And at a distance of six leagues he saw a large bay and he saw in the land within very large valleys and tracts of arable land and very high mountains, all like those in Castile. And then at a distance of eight miles he found a very deep river but very crooked, although one carack could enter it very well and the mouth was free from banks or shoals. And then at a distance of sixteen miles he found a very wide harbour,² and so deep that he did not find the bottom at the entrance and only at three paces from the shore, where it was fifteen fathoms and it extends inland a quarter of a league. And although it was still very early being one o'clock after mid-day and the wind was in the stern and very strong, still because the sky looked as though it would rain very hard and it was very dark and cloudy,—which if it is dangerous in a familiar country is much more so when it is unfamiliar,—he decided to enter the harbour which he named *Puerto de la Concepcion*, and went to land in a rather small

¹ The original word is *agrezuela*, and Navarrete reads this *abrezuela* or *anglezuela*, a bay or roadstead. He thinks this is Mosquito Bay.

² This would seem to be the same bay—Mosquito—referred to above.

river which is at the end of the harbour, and which flows through some plains and level tracts of arable land which were wonderful to see on account of their beauty. He took nets to fish, and before he reached land a mullet [*lisa*] like those in Spain, jumped into the boat and until that time no fish had been seen like those in Castile. The sailors fished and killed others, also soles and other fish like those in Castile. He went a short distance along that country which is all cultivated and he heard the nightingales sing and other small birds like those of Castile. They saw five men, but they would not wait and fled. He found myrtle and other trees and grasses like those in Castile and the country and the mountains are like Castile.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 8.

There in that harbour it rained hard with the wind in the north and very strong. The harbour is safe from all the winds except the north wind although it cannot do any damage to vessels because there is a great surf [or undertow] which does not allow the ship to work upon the cables nor the water from the river [*que no dá lugar á que la nas labore sobre las amarras ni el agua del rio*]. After midnight the wind shifted to the north-east and afterward to the east. This harbour is well sheltered from these winds by the island of Tortuga which is opposite it at a distance of thirty-six-miles.[†]

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 9.

This day it rained and the weather was wintry the same as in Castile in the month of October. No village had been seen except one very beautiful house in the *Puerto de S. Nicolas* and which was constructed better than those which had been seen in other places. The island is very large and the Admiral says that it will not be much to say that it measures two hundred leagues around [*ne sera mucho que boje doscientas leguas*]. He has seen that it is all well cultivated. He believed that all the villages must be at some distance from the sea from which place they can see when he is approaching, and so the inhabitants all fled and took with them all they had and lighted signal fires as though they were war-like people. This harbour is a thousand paces at the mouth which is a quarter of a league. In it there is no bank or shoal but rather the bottom can hardly be found until you go in to the shore of the sea and inside it extends a thousand paces in length all clear and with a sandy bottom, so that any ship whatever can anchor in it without fear and enter without caution. At the head of the harbour there are the mouths of two rivers which discharge a small quantity of water. Opposite there are some of the most beautiful plains in the world and which are almost like the lands of Castile only

[†] The distance is surely exaggerated, or Las Casas has not copied it correctly from the *Journal*. It is not more than ten or eleven.

these are better, and on this account he named the said island the *Isla Española*.¹

¹ Española, and not Hispaniola, is the correct name of this island. Solorzano (*De Indiarum Jure*) called attention to the fact that Hispaniola is a false translation of Española. Its name is the *Spanish Island*, and not *Little Spain*. Columbus called it *La isla Española*, but afterward the adjective was turned into a substantive and made to do duty for the entire phrase. Peter Martyr always employed the diminutive. In the seventh book of his *Third Decade* he gives an interesting dissertation on the nomenclature of the new lands. He asserts that the island of Española was first peopled by certain inhabitants of the island of Martinino, who had been driven away in banishment. He even stops to tell us that in pronouncing the name of the latter, the accent should be on the final vowel of Martinino. These exiles settled on the north-east part of the island of Española in that part called Cahonao upon the bank of the river Bahaboni. We imagine this is the third province, counting from the east, mentioned by Peter Martyr in his geographical divisions. The island was first named by its inhabitants *Quizqueia*, and then *Haiti*. *Quizqueia*, Peter Martyr tells us, signified in their tongue something superlatively great. The island was also called *Civao*, which the Admiral took to mean Cipango, but the name was applied particularly to the regions of mountains abounding in gold. There is peculiar significance in this last name, and if Columbus heard it when first he landed on the island, he might well have suffered his imagination to confuse it with the region he was seeking.

CHAPTER LVIII

THE LANDFALL

[Here we interrupt the *Journal* to retrace our steps and to fix the probable landfall of Columbus on Watling Island.]

THE ¹ exact spot in the New World on which Columbus first set foot will always possess peculiar interest. One might expect this spot would have been marked and identified beyond chance of doubt or dispute within a short time after the discovery, and yet each of at least five of the smaller Bahama Islands is to-day pointed out as the site of the true landfall. Cuba and Santo Domingo early became the scene of attraction, and the true Guanahani was not visited for many years when its simple people were carried off and made to wear away their lives in the gold mines of New Spain. Modern writers who have tried to fix the identity of the true Guanahani have followed one of three plans:

First. Applying to the different islands the physical descriptions given by Ferdinand Columbus in his *Historic*, and by Las Casas in his abridgment of the *Journal* of the great Admiral.

Second. Tracing the course of the fleet backward from the island of Juana or Cuba, by means of the sailing memoranda in the *Journal*.

Third. Following the course sailed from the island of Gomera in the Canaries to Guanahani, and from there to Cuba, by the same recorded sailings. With the *Journal*, as thus far given before him, the reader is prepared to apply to the problem the first two methods.

Juan Bautista Muñoz published his *Historia del Nuevo Mundo* at Madrid in 1793, after a labour of nineteen years.

¹ The present chapter is reproduced from the Author's *Continent of America*.

This writer says of Guanahani: "In my opinion, it is the same island that is now called Watling." His judgment was good, and his conclusions are ours also; but it would have gratified us if he had stated the reasons for his opinion.

Washington Irving, to whom we can grant a plenary indulgence for not halting long in a search for facts lest his delightful pen corrode, said of the landfall in the 1828 London edition of his *Life of Columbus*:

"The island where Columbus had thus, for the first time, set his foot upon the New World, is one of the Lucayos, or the Bahama Islands, and was called by the natives Guanahané: it still retains the name of San Salvador, which he gave it, though called by the English Cat Island. The light which he had seen the evening previous to his making land may have been on Watling Island, which lies a few leagues to the east."

It is plain that, finding on the maps an island of the Bahama group called San Salvador, Irving was content to accept it as the true Guanahani. It was also an easy way to account for the mysterious light which Columbus and Pedro Gutierrez had seen from the castle of the deck of the *Santa Maria* at ten o'clock on the evening of October 11; but the distance from Watling Island to Cat Island was not considered by the distinguished author. The nautical knowledge which fixed him in his determination to call Cat Island the true Guanahani, in the Appendix to the third volume of his *Life and Voyages of Columbus* (New York, 1848), is said to have been furnished by Commander Alexander Slidell Mackenzie, United States Navy.

However, a greater than Irving in the field of investigation was soon to take up the subject. Alexander von Humboldt, in the third volume of his *Examen Critique de l'Histoire de la Géographie du Nouveau Continent* (Paris, 1837), accepts Cat Island as San Salvador, and summons two classes of witnesses to prove its identity: first the modern maps and common tradition; and second the old map of Juan de la Cosa and the *Journal* of Ponce de Leon, as well as some of the early charts. The map of La Cosa was discovered by Von Humboldt in the library of his friend Baron Walcknaer in Paris, in the year 1832. It is now in the Naval Museum at Madrid. A reduced fac-simile is shown at the end of this book,¹ and from it the student can exer-

¹ See the Author's *Continent of America*.

cise his fancy in determining the true San Salvador with the same certainty as was assured to Von Humboldt. La Cosa accompanied Columbus on one or more of his voyages to the Indies, and might have heard from the very lips of the Admiral the location of the landfall. Navarrete, vol. iii., p. 586, is authority for a strong professional relationship existing between Columbus and the famous pilot Juan de la Cosa; and Henry Harrisse, in his *Discovery of North America* (London, 1892), calls attention to the fact that La Cosa was not only a companion of Columbus on his memorable first voyage, but that he was a part owner of the flagship *Santa Maria*, which was wrecked on the coast of Española, December 25, 1492, and that he received an indemnity for his loss.

There is not sufficient detail in La Cosa's map to warrant anyone in ascribing to Cat Island the honour of being San Salvador. The standard of Leon and Castile is seen in the map, planted on an island to which La Cosa gives the name Yumey, and this is easily identified in later maps as Long Island, or our Ferdinand Island. Guanahani is seen to the eastward, with the island of Santa Maria de la Concepcion lying between it and Yumey. Von Humboldt cites the *Journal* of Juan Ponce de Leon upon his expedition in 1512 to the Lucayos Islands and to Florida in search of his fountain of youth. The expedition started from Puerto Rico, and its course was north-west by north.

"In the course of five days they arrived at an island called El Viejo, in latitude $22^{\circ} 30'$ north. The next day they arrived at one of the Lucayos called Caycos. On the eighth day they anchored at another island called Yaguna in 24° . Thence they passed to the island of Manuega in $24^{\circ} 30'$, and on the eleventh day they reached Guanahani, which is $25^{\circ} 40'$ north. The island of Guanahani was the first discovered by Columbus on his first voyage and which he called San Salvador."

This description is taken from Herrera. Von Humboldt says that El Viejo may have been Turk's Island, the Guanahani of Navarrete. Certainly Antonio de Alaminos, the famous pilot of the expedition, knew that El Viejo was not one of the Lucayos. Captain G. V. Fox, United States Navy, has identified Yaguna, the stopping-place on the eighth day, with Little Inagua. If Ponce de Leon made 287 miles, the distance from Puerto Rico

to Grand Turk Island, in five days, he was travelling at the rate of 57.4 miles per day. If he was at Little Inagua on the eighth day out, and at Guanahani on the eleventh, it would represent a distance, if travelled at above the average speed before made, of 172.2 miles. The distance from Little Inagua to Watling Island is 176 miles, while to Cat Island it is 213. We are still confronted with the $25^{\circ} 40'$ of latitude applied to the Guanahani of Ponce de Leon, but we may avail ourselves of the criticism passed upon Antonio de Alaminos by Von Humboldt himself, who says that he made all his positions about one degree too far north.

We need not stop to consider the claim of Navarrete that Grand Turk is San Salvador. Neither in its physical characteristics nor in the subsequent sailings does it at all answer the requirements of the landfall. The claim of Francisco Adolpho de Varnhagen, the Brazilian writer, for the island of Mariguana is equally unsupported. One never can find an island to the south-west of this to play the part of Santa Maria, on the second island. Mariguana has no large lake in the centre, and lacking that, no Bahama island shall be our Guanahani.

Captain Fox has written the most elaborate disquisition yet contributed to this subject. It forms part of the report for 1880 made by the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, and is entitled *Methods and Results*, and was printed at the Government Printing Office. Although we do not accept his conclusions, we regard it as the most valuable contribution toward solving the problem of the first landing-place of Columbus in the New World which has been made, particularly from the method pursued in presenting the different theories. He has his own theory and pursues it with eagerness. Samana or Atwood Cay, the Guanahani of Captain Fox, is a small island containing little more than eight square miles. Its north-east end is $24^{\circ} 06'$ north latitude and $74^{\circ} 26'$ longitude west of Greenwich. He made a personal inspection of the Bahama group, and certainly, with the same resources and with the books, maps, and manuscripts possessed by other writers, he should have reached a result commensurate with his methods. He did not attain this result. The island fails in every physical test applied to it from the *Journal* of the Admiral and from the biography by Ferdinand Columbus. Cat Island contains 160 square miles, Watling has 60, Mariguana

has 96, Turk has only 6.87 square miles. It will be remembered that on the day following his landing, after having had time to examine the island, Columbus said of it: "This island is very large and very flat, and has very green trees and much water, and a very large lake in the middle, but without any mountains. It is all so green that it is a pleasure to look at it." It must have been well peopled, because of the crowds which came to the shore, and because of their canoes, fitted, some of them, to carry forty at a time.

In 1856 Captain A. B. Becher of the Royal Navy published in London a valuable work, entitled, *The Landfall of Columbus*. It includes a translation, by the author, of Navarrete's first volume containing the *Journal* of Columbus. There is a very happy arrangement of a running commentary under the *Journal* and on the same page, putting the reader into immediate possession of the author's own impressions and interpretations of the *Journal*. Captain Becher had the best aid which the Hydrographic Office of the English Admiralty could afford, the plan of Watling Island having been sketched by Captain E. Barnett of the Royal Navy, an officer who has contributed by his surveys to the improvement of the charts of the West Indies. The true Guanahani or San Salvador is fully identified by Captain Becher with Watling Island, but the subsequent course marked on the chart to the second, third, and fourth islands is not naturally derived from the *Journal* nor from the relative positions of the several islands. This attempt by Captain Becher to solve the problem is important in view of the settled belief that tradition having given the name San Salvador to Cat Island, and such eminent writers as Washington Irving and Alexander von Humboldt having there located the landfall, there could be no room for controversy or even question. When professional sailors and navigators like Captain Becher and Captain Barnett boldly denied that Columbus could have landed so far to the westward and made a journey to Cuba on any such lines as laid down by the *Journal*, the public attention was arrested, and men listened with something of respect to the calm and dignified assertions of experts. The expedition sent out by the *Chicago Herald*, and subsequent researches carried on by government authority, have strengthened the belief in Watling Island as the landfall of the Discoverer four hundred years ago.

If the reader will familiarise himself with the *Journal* as here reproduced from Navarrete he will be ready to apply to the problem the first two methods spoken of at the beginning of this chapter. The third method must ever be unsatisfactory. From September 8, 1492, when he departed from Gomera in the Canaries, until October 12, when he landed at Guanahani, —33½ days—he had sailed 1178½ nautical leagues, or 3535 nautical miles. The leagues used by Columbus were equal to four Italian miles and the Italian mile is 4842 English feet. Thus the number of leagues run by his log from Gomera to Guanahani was 1111 leagues, equal to 1178½ nautical leagues, or 3535 nautical miles,—about 3458 miles on a straight course. At whichever island in the Bahama group we attempt to land him by this reckoning, we find his log has overrun it by many miles. The following table will show the relative difference between the logged course and the real course:

Distance from Gomera to Grand Turk, 2834 miles.	Distance overrun,
624 miles.	
Distance from Gomera to Mariguana, 3032 miles.	Distance overrun,
426 miles.	
Distance from Gomera to Samana, 3071 miles.	Distance overrun,
387 miles.	
Distance from Gomera to Watling, 3105 miles.	Distance overrun,
353 miles.	
Distance from Gomera to Cat Island, 3141 miles.	Distance overrun,
317 miles.	

The current in that part of the Atlantic is very strong. Columbus arrived at the speed of his vessel by his eye, the log line not having been used until the sixteenth century. He had no aid from those accurate chronometers and fine nautical instruments which the ship-captain of to-day possesses. His time he got from a sand hour-glass. The variation of the compass and its changed relationship to the North Star were a surprise to Columbus, and on two occasions in the *Journal*, under date of September 13 and September 17, 1492, he mentions the alarm of his pilots and sailors at noticing the erratic needle. Therefore it must be apparent that conclusions fixed on such doubtful courses and disturbed distances must be uncertain and unsatisfactory.

There remain, however, two more powerful methods. With the chart of the Bahama Islands before us, we may mark out

the route of the Discoverer backward from Cuba to San Salvador. The point on the Cuban shore where Columbus landed on Sunday, October 28, 1492, is fixed at Puerto del Padre, and is the only port which has the necessary depth of water and which is far enough to the westward to answer the requirements of the south-south-west course sailed by Columbus from the Sandy Islands. Emptying into that bay there was a river which had twelve fathoms of water at its mouth. On the afternoon of October 25 Columbus arrived off some small islands which he called Las Islas de Arena. Captain Fox points to the resemblances which these islands bear to the description so correctly given in the *Journal*. They are eight in number, are sixty miles north-north-east of the north-east coast of Cuba, extending north-north-west $\frac{1}{2}$ west and south-south-east $\frac{1}{2}$ east for twenty-one miles. Such a group of islands can be found nowhere else in the Bahamas. From these islands the Indians told him Cuba was distant only a day and a half. He left these islands at sunrise of Saturday, October 27, sailing south-south-west eight miles an hour, until at night they had accomplished sixty-eight miles. Early in the morning of Wednesday, October 24, Columbus had sailed from the rocky islet of Isabella, following a west-south-westerly course. It rained, with little wind, at intervals all day, until as it came toward night, Columbus marked the south-west cape of Fernandina, or his third island, and which latter we shall identify as Long Island, as bearing north-west from where he was, distant seven leagues, or twenty-two nautical miles. He took in all sail that night, and estimated in the morning that he had not gone more than two leagues. At sunrise of Thursday, October 25, he sailed west-south-west; but at 9 A.M. he turned once more toward the west, and at 3 o'clock in the afternoon he saw the land of Las Islas de Arena. These islands are now called the Ragged Islands, and form the south-easterly edge of the Great Bahama Bank. Columbus remained at anchor off the southern part of these islands from 3 o'clock on Thursday until sunrise of Saturday, October 27.

Cape Verde on the island of Fernandina is thus fixed with precision. It was on the south-western end of the third island discovered and visited by Columbus, to which he gave the name of Fernandina. Its location not only forms the point of departure from the fourth island, or Isabella, but it demonstrates

that Columbus never set foot on Grand Exuma, which Washington Irving calls the third island of Columbus. The south-western part of the island of Exuma is simply an impossible place for Columbus to have been, or from which to have taken his reckoning in going to Cuba. If Columbus had sailed from the north-west side of Long Island on his journey southward to Cuba, he must have crossed the Banks nearly entire, and his *Journal* would have described the incessant soundings. There is no spot or place on this route which can possibly be taken for Las Islas de Arena.

The fourth island of Columbus, called by him Isabella and by the Indians Saomete, really consists of two islands,—the northern identified by us as Crooked Island, and the southern as Fortune Island. There is between these a small island. The first land for which Columbus made on this fourth island was an isolated rock to which he gave the name of Cabo del Isleo, or Cape of the Islet. It has been known of late years as Bird Rock. The north-west end of Fortune Island we identify as Cape Hermosa, so called by Columbus because of its great beauty. The south-west cape of the island he called Cape Laguna. He decided to circumnavigate the island to the north-east and the east by the south-east and south in his search for the settlement and the king. The singular space of water inclosed between the rocky islet and the within island is sufficiently described by Columbus to enable the navigator positively to identify it with the physical peculiarities alone found in the Crooked Island, or as they are called on some charts, the Fragrant Island group.

The course from the rocky islet of the fourth island, or Isabella, back to the third island, or Fernandina, is almost due west with the least bit of north in it. When Columbus sailed from Fernandina at daybreak of Friday, October 19, it will be recalled that the three caravels took a course to the eastward and south-eastward for three hours, when an island was discovered *in the east*. This is the island the Indians who had come with Columbus from San Salvador called Saomete, to which he gave the name of Isabella, and which we have identified with Crooked or Fortune Island.

We have now traced Columbus to his anchorage off the south-west end of an island from which he departed at daybreak on Friday, October 19. This island was his Fernandina,

off which he arrived on the night of Tuesday, October 16, but on which he did not land until daylight the next morning.

Ferdinand Columbus describes this island of Fernandina as very large with a coast running north-west and south-east more than twenty-eight leagues. To learn the trend of the shore and the extent of the island, the Admiral sailed along toward the north-west to the mouth of a beautiful port which had a little island in the entrance. Navarrete quotes from the *Journal* of Columbus the following description of the island of Fernandina:

"This island is very large and I have determined to sail around it; because, as I understand it, it is on it or near it that there is a mine of gold. This island is almost eight leagues east and west of Santa Maria and the point to which I have come and all this coast runs north-north-west to south-south-east, and I saw fully twenty leagues of it and it did not end there."

This well describes the Long Island of our map and the Fernandina of the Admiral's *Journal*. Columbus continues:

"At noon [of Wednesday] I set out from the village off which I had anchored and where I had taken on board water, in order to sail around this island of Fernandina. The wind was south-west and south and I wished to follow the coast of this island from where I was toward the south-east for the whole coast runs from the north-north-west to the south-south-east."

Columbus remarked that it was his wish to sail south, but that he was persuaded to sail north-north-west by Martin Alonzo Pinzón. Before, however, he had reached a point two leagues from the end, he came to a very remarkable port with a rocky islet at the entrance, within which port was room for a hundred vessels. From here the Admiral sailed to the north-west until he came to the end of the island and where the coast turned westward. Here, the wind changing and the Indians advising him to go to the south, he turned around and sailed south-south-east all night, until he came to anchor at the south-east end of the island, and which we recognise as Cape Verde. Clarence Harbour, which answers the description of a beautiful port with a rocky islet at its entrance, was probably the site of his first anchorage at this island. His assertion at the beginning of this day's account that the coast trends north-north-west, and that has he seen twenty leagues of it already, conveys an erroneous

impression. The *Journal* was written up the next day, when he truthfully could have said he had seen twenty leagues of it. There is nothing to show that Columbus sailed due east and west from the second island, Santa Maria. He says that he made for a large island which was westward of Santa Maria, but he may have, and probably did, run a trifle south of west. From where he landed he sailed north-north-west on again starting out. He found this beautiful port at two leagues' distance from the end of the island, and then went north-west until he reached the end of the island. He left the settlement where he had anchored at noon of the 17th of October, and consumed the time up to sunset in examining the coast and the harbour, with frequent haltings, and in consultations with the Pinzóns and the Indians. But when there came a change of wind he turned about, and was all night going south-easterly to the end of the island we call Cape Verde. It is plain that if this was any part of Exuma from which he was trying to steer, he must have gone due east and not south. It is also plain that, having the wind with him both times, he could not have made as long a journey in point of time, going north-north-west, as after turning around he made in going south-east by south. Therefore he must have touched this island for the first time somewhere between the middle and the north end, probably about eight or ten leagues from the north end of the island.

And now, how did the Admiral arrive at Fernandina? He came from an island which lay to the eastward, and which he himself had named Santa Maria de la Concepcion. If Long Island be the third island of the Fernandina of Columbus, then it follows that Rum Cay is Santa Maria, or the second island, for it is the only island to the eastward, and eight or nine leagues away from Long Island. A single glance at the map will show this. This island of Santa Maria on its east coast ran north to south about five leagues, and looked *toward San Salvador*, distant to the north about seven leagues. He travelled along the east and west coast, and at sunset came to anchor at a cape which terminates the island toward the west. This was the south-west end of the island; for Columbus speaks of going ashore in the armed boats to inquire for gold, and says that after a time, the wind blowing south-east upon the shore where the vessels lay, he determined not to remain, and set out for the

ship, after which he set sail for the other large island to the west.

The language employed in the original Spanish would certainly indicate that under the date of Monday, October 15, the Admiral is describing a journey from off the south coast of this first island to the second island, and that the entire day was occupied in this passage to its western extremity; and while the language of the *Journal* is somewhat obscure, the description of the size of the second island is sufficiently correct to identify it with Rum Cay. It is twice as long from east to west along the side Columbus followed as it is wide from north to south. Some writers, through careless reading, have made Columbus pass by this second island without either landing or giving it a name. Again, some maps have sought to identify the second island with the little island put down on the maps as Concepcion, and on which the British ship *Southampton* was wrecked in 1812. It is a double cay, and this fact and the presence of a large hill called "Booby Cay" have led some to call it the true second island, the double cay accounting for the expression in the Admiral's *Journal* that on the morning of Tuesday, October 16, he left the *Islands of Santa Maria*, speaking of more than one, and the high hill accounting for a longer object of vision from the masthead of the Admiral's ship. There are three objections to the selection of this double cay as the second island:

First. The direction of the second and third islands in respect to each other is east and west, whereas the double cay is north of the third island.

Second. The direction of the second island should be southwest of San Salvador, whereas the double cay is due west of Watling Island.

Third. The double cay is much smaller than Rum Cay, and Columbus passed by no island without, as he says, taking possession thereof.

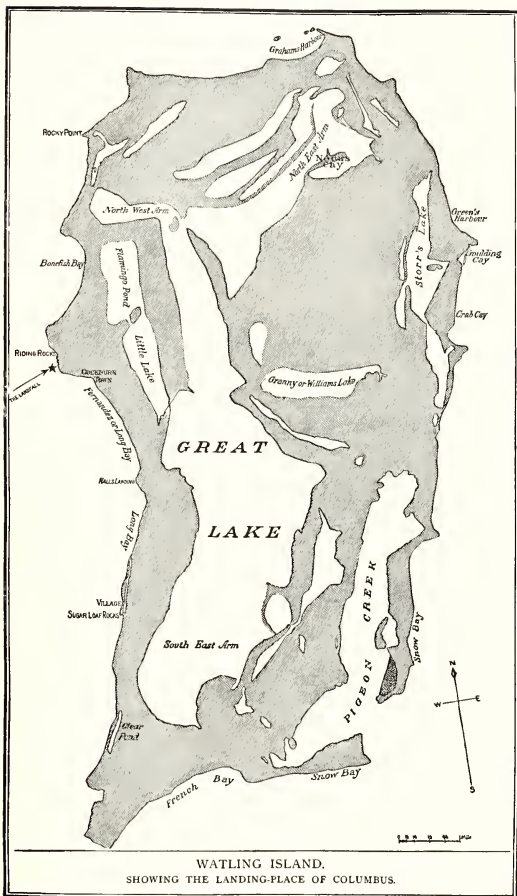
If Rum Cay be the Santa Maria, or the second island of Columbus, and he reached it by sailing six or seven leagues in a southerly direction from San Salvador, the first island, whence could he have come but from Watling Island? There is none other possible as a point of departure.

CHAPTER LIX

WATLING ISLAND THE TRUE GUANAHANI

THE first method—that of applying to the different islands the physical descriptions given by Bartolomé de las Casas and taken from the *Journal* of the Admiral—is the most satisfactory and convincing. The large lagoon in the middle of the island is a feature sufficient of itself to identify Watling Island as San Salvador, since no other island of the Bahama group possesses such a distinguishing topographical mark. Its belt of coral, while common to many islands, by its presence is another witness to certify to its claim. The fertility of the island is such as to warrant the name given it to-day,—the Garden of the Bahamas.

Watling Island is situated in latitude $24^{\circ} 06'$ north, longitude $74^{\circ} 26'$ west, from Greenwich. It is twelve miles in length north and south, and nearly seven miles in breadth, containing about sixty square miles. It owes its name, tradition says, to a Captain George Watling, an old privateer in command of a ship in the time of the buccaneers. In the map drawn by Diego Ribero, the celebrated cosmographer of the Emperor Charles V., and which he finished in 1529, Guanahani is put down as opposite to the eastern extremity of Cuba, in the same meridian as the point of the coast called Baracoa. Baracoa is only a few leagues to the westward of that extreme eastern point of Cuba made interesting by its quaint name of Cape Alpha and Omega, given it by Columbus on his first voyage in December, 1492. While this name does not appear in the words of the Admiral himself in the account of the first voyage as given by Las Casas, in speaking of his second voyage, when he went from Española across to the east end of Cuba, Columbus says he named that



point when he reached it first Cape Alpha and Omega. Ferdinand Columbus, Las Casas, and Peter Martyr all say this. Las Casas certainly found this name in the Admiral's *Journal* of the first voyage and should have incorporated it in his abridged relation. The significance in this name lies in the belief at that time of the Admiral that Cuba made part of the Asiatic continent, and that this cape was the Alpha or beginning of the Indies to all those coming from the east, and the Omega or end to all those coming from the west. As will be seen, by referring to the map, we fix the first anchorage and the exact site of the landfall on the west side of the island, off Riding Rocks, near Cockburn Town, the main settlement on the island. From the time that the ships of Columbus anchored in the early morning of Friday, October 12, until they set sail on the evening of Sunday, October 14, there is nothing to indicate that they were moved. The prevailing winds are from the east, and no ship would or could anchor on the windward side. The *Journal* tells us that the sea on October 11, 1492, was "much heavier than at any time previous during the voyage." He was sailing due west at the hour of the discovery, presumably with an east wind. That it was strong is seen from the statement that they were sailing twelve miles an hour. There is no port or anchorage possible on the east side. The course sailed on Wednesday was west-south-west, at occasionally twelve miles an hour, and on Thursday, October 11, it was almost due west at the same rate of speed. It is possible that the land which was sighted at two o'clock on the following morning was the north end of Watling Island. Sailors acquainted with that locality tell us that a ship such as Columbus had, with its sails taken in as he states his were, with the wind strong from the east, would drift to the south-west, and it is probable he was not far from the spot indicated in the map to the south and on the west side of the island when the morning broke. Here is the only proper landing-place on the entire island. His sailor instinct must have pointed it out to the Admiral. It is to-day the only safe and natural anchorage on the island.

We may arrive at the probable landfall by the following process of reasoning: It will be recalled that in the *Journal* for Saturday, October 13, he says: "Y por señas pude entender que yendo al Sur ó volviendo la isla por el Sur . . .": "I

by signs was able to learn that by going toward the south or *rounding the island to the south*"

This phrase eliminates the south side of the island, and the natural conditions eliminate the east side, from our search after the location of the site of the landfall. On the morning of Sunday, October 14, the Admiral gets out his boats and leaves the ship, rowing in a north-north-easterly direction. This certainly eliminates the north end of the island from our consideration, or else we must behold the Admiral rowing in a direction which will take him out to sea. Moreover, he says he went "to see the other part of it, which was on the other side of the east." He describes a part of the island so accurately that it is easily identified to-day as the north part. The Admiral says, in speaking of the invitation of the natives for him to land as he approached this part:

"But I was afraid because I saw a great reef of rocks which surrounds the island, within which is space and depth for as many ships as there are in all Christendom, but the entrance is very narrow. It is true that inside this reef are some sunken rocks, but the sea does not move any more than water in a well. And in order to see all this I set out this morning that I might be able to give a full account to Your Highnesses, and also that I might know where a fort could be built. I saw a piece of land that is like an island, although it is not one, upon which were six houses. This peninsula could in two days be made into an island "

There is just such a natural harbour with its entrance at the north-west end of the island. To the east is a tongue of land, and in "two days" or in a short time, and with but little engineering labour, there could be excavated a canal, thus cutting off the north end and making it an island. Here in after times some one else saw its strategic advantage, and to-day there lies on the ground an old cannon which once pointed to the west and commanded the harbour entrance. The water within this harbour is quiet as the waters of a well, and there are depth and room enough for many navies.

Watling Island has a political existence. Its population of 675 souls unite with the 367 inhabitants of Rum Cay to form a constituency which sends one member to the House of Assembly for the Bahama Islands. The seat of local government is in the island of New Providence. It is said that at one time the

Christopher Columbus

island was celebrated for its live stock, and in particular horses, cargoes of these being sent annually to Jamaica. The principal settlement on the island is Cockburn Town, at the point where we find the landfall. It has a sea approach with a good and easy anchorage. On Dixon Hill, on the north-east end, is a lighthouse with the most powerful light in the Bahamas. It is situated in latitude $24^{\circ} 06'$ and in longitude $74^{\circ} 26'$.

Most students who have been readers rather than investigators of the first voyage of Columbus have been content with the charming story of Washington Irving, or with the authoritative voice of Alexander von Humboldt. To-day the careful student reads the original Spanish of Navarrete, and verifies its statements concerning the landfall by what competent sailors who have visited the locality have to tell of the Bahama group.

It has frequently been said that if Columbus had not altered his sailing course on October 7, 1492, from due west to west-south-west, he would have touched land first on the coast of our Florida. We do not so interpret his course. For purposes of rough reckoning we will say that Columbus first landed in the New World on the morning of October 12, 1492, in $24^{\circ} 06'$ of north latitude and in longitude $74^{\circ} 26'$ west of Greenwich. He had been sailing by the compass on a course toward the west. On October 7 he altered his course and we have the following as his daily sailings:

October	7,	he went	5 leagues	to the	west-south-west.
"	8,	"	12	"	" " "
"	9,	"	5	"	" " south-west.
"	9,	"	4	"	" " west, quarter north-west.
"	9,	"	$11\frac{1}{2}$	"	" " west-south-west (?).
"	10,	"	59	"	" " west-south-west.
"	11,	"	27	"	" " west-south-west.
"	11,	"	$22\frac{1}{2}$	"	" " west.

During this time the total distance sailed was 146 leagues. This distance computed from where the fleet was on the evening of October 7, 1492, would carry it 95 leagues or 304 nautical miles south and 107.6 leagues or 344.3 miles to the westward. This landed Columbus—as we think—on Watling Island, the north end of which is in $24^{\circ} 06'$ north latitude and in longitude $74^{\circ} 26'$ west. If, then, we plot his course backward from this

place we will find him on the evening of October 7 in north latitude $29^{\circ} 10'$ and in longitude $68^{\circ} 00'$ west. At the time he changed his course he had long been pursuing a direction west by the compass. Assuming that he did not change this course and continued due west by his compass, he would have found himself during the day of October 11 in the N. E. Providence Channel between the islands of Great Abaco and Eleuthera. The Hydrographic Office current charts show a set of currents¹ in a north-westerly direction and with a maximum velocity of twenty-six miles per day throughout the region travelled, but if we are right in the location of the fleet on the evening of October 7, this influence would not have carried him north of the Providence Channel, and it is the opinion of competent naval officers that it would have had to draw him some one hundred miles to the north-west for him to clear Great Abaco Island and the Little Bahama Bank.

The route sailed by Columbus from his landfall on the morning of October 12, 1492, until he touched the shore of Cuba is here outlined with probable accuracy. If ever mortal hand shall hold the original *Journal* of the Admiral, many new and clearer readings may be found. But, until then, availing ourselves of the three methods of investigation above noticed, we may declare that the Watling Island of to-day is the true Guanahani which first knew the foot of the European discoverer, and thus pointed the way to a new stage and new scenes on which were to be enacted old plays and the reappearance of ancient history.

¹ Humboldt thought there were counter-currents in these regions to the eastward of the Gulf Stream. He reports that the British ship *Europa* in 1787 found there between 68° and 78° longitude west a counter-current running from the Bahama Banks toward the south-east.

CHAPTER LX

THE JOURNAL—*Continued*

MONDAY, DECEMBER 10.

THE wind blew hard from the north-east and caused the anchors to drag half a cable's length at which the Admiral wondered, and he thought it was because the anchors were near land and the wind blew toward it. And having seen that the wind was contrary for him to go where he desired, he sent six men well armed on land, with orders to go two or three leagues inland to see if they could talk with any one. They went and returned not having found any people or houses. They found nevertheless some huts and very wide roads, and places where many fires had been made. They saw the best lands in the world and they found many mastic trees and they brought some of it and said that there was a great deal, but that now is not the time to gather it because it does not now form into gum.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 11.

He did not start on account of the wind which was still east and north-east. In front of that harbour as has been said is the *Isla de la Tortuga* and it appears like a large island and the coast extends almost in the same direction as that of Española, and it may be at the most, from one to the other, ten leagues: that is to say, from the *Cabo de Cinquin* at the head of Tortuga, for then its coast extends to the south. He says he would like to see that place between these two islands in order to see the *Isla Española*, which is the most beautiful thing in the world, and because according to what the Indians he had with him said, one must go yonder to reach the island of *Babecue*. These Indians said that it was a very large island with very large mountains and rivers and valleys, and they said that the island of *Bohio* was larger than *Juana* which they call *Cuba*, and that it is not surrounded by water: and they appear to give it to be understood as continental land which is here behind this Española, and which they call *Caritaba* and say that it is of infinite importance and they almost make it appear reasonable that these countries may be harassed by astute people because the inhabitants of all these islands live in great fear of the

people of Caniba, "and so I repeat as I have said at other times [he says] that *Caniba is no other than the people of the Great Khan* who must be very near here and have ships and come to capture these people, and as the captives do not return they believe they have eaten them. Each day we understand these Indians better and they understand us better, although many times they may have understood one thing for another [says the Admiral]." He sent people on land and they found a great deal of mastic not coagulated, and he says the rains must do this, and that in Xio they gather it in March and that in January they could gather it in these countries as it is so temperate. They caught many fish like those in Castile, dace, salmon, hake, dorce, pámpano, *lisas* [mullet], conger eels, shrimp, and they saw sardines. They found a great deal of aloe.¹

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 12.

They did not start on this day on account of the aforesaid contrary wind. He placed a large cross at the entrance of the harbour on the western side, on a very slight elevation, "as a sign [he says] that Your Highnesses hold the land for your own and principally as a sign of Jesus Christ, our Lord, and in honour of Christianity." Having placed the cross, three sailors started up the mountain to see the trees and grasses and they heard a large crowd of people, all naked like those they had seen, and they called to them and went after them, but the Indians fled. "And finally they took a woman who could go no farther because I [he says] had ordered them to take some of the Indians in order to show them honour and cause them to lose their fear and see if they had profitable things, as it appeared it could not be otherwise on account of the beauty of the country: and so they brought the woman, a very young and beautiful girl, to the ship, and she talked with those Indians, because they all had the same language." And the Admiral caused her to be clothed and gave her glass beads and hawks' bells and brass rings, and sent her to land again very honourably, according to his custom. He sent some persons from the ship with her; and three of the Indians he had with him, to talk with that people. The sailors who went in the boat, when they took her to land, told the Admiral that she did not wish to go out of the ship if she could not remain with the other Indian women he had caused to be taken in the *Puerto de Mares de la Isla Juana* of Cuba. All these Indians who came with that Indian woman, he says, came in a canoe, which is their caravel in which they navigate everywhere, and when they appeared at the entrance of the harbour and they saw the ships they turned backward and left the canoe yonder in some place, and went away on the road to their

¹ Under date of the 11th, Las Casas says that Columbus again reiterated that the people of Caniba could not be other than the people of the Great Khan, and says: "He had this opinion and was greatly aided in holding to it, by the chart or map which he carried from Paul, the Physician, and the information he had given him by his [Paul's] letters. . . ."

village. The Indian woman showed the location of the village. This woman wore a small piece of gold in her nose, which was an indication that there was gold in that island.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 13.

The three men whom the Admiral had sent with the woman returned at three o'clock in the night, and they did not go with her as far as the village because it appeared a long way off, or because they were afraid. They said that the next day many people would come to the ships because they must already be re-assured by the news the woman would give them. The Admiral being desirous to learn whether there was anything valuable in that country and in order to have some conversation with the people as their land was so beautiful and fertile, and that they might be disposed to serve the Sovereigns,—decided to send again to the village, confiding in the news given by the Indian woman that the Christians were good people. For this purpose he selected nine men well prepared with arms and adapted for such an affair, with whom an Indian from among those he had with him went also. They went to the village which was four leagues and a half to the south-east and which they found in a very large valley and unoccupied; because when the Indians heard the Christians coming, they all fled inland leaving whatever they had behind them. The village consisted of more than three thousand men and had a thousand houses. The Indian the Christians had with them, ran after the others calling to them, saying that they must not be afraid as the Christians were not from *Cariba*, but instead they were from heaven and that they gave many beautiful things to every one they found. They were so much impressed with what he said, that they were re-assured and more than two thousand came together, and all came to the Christians and placed their hands upon their heads, which was a sign of great reverence and friendship, and they were all trembling until they were greatly re-assured. The Christians said that after they were entirely freed from fear they all went to their houses, and each one brought them some of whatever they had to eat, which was bread of "*niames*"¹ which are roots like large radishes, which they sow and which grow and are planted in all their lands, and upon which they live: and they make bread of them and boil and roast them and they taste like chestnuts, and there is no one who does not believe, in eating them, that they are chestnuts. They gave the Christians bread and fish and whatever they had. And as the Indians he had in the ship had understood that the Admiral desired to have a parrot, it appears that the Indian who was with the Christians told the other Indians something of this, and so they brought the Christians parrots and gave them as many as they wished without requiring anything for them.

¹ Called before Mames. Navarrete says these were *ajes*, what we call sweet potatoes. It was used to make a sort of bread, but is not to be confounded with the *cazabi*, the native bread made from the root of the Yuca.

They begged them not to come away that night and said they would give them many other things they had in the mountains. At the time when all those people were together with the Christians they saw a great multitude of people coming with the husband of the woman whom the Admiral had honoured and sent back. They were carrying this woman upon their shoulders and they came to thank the Admiral for the honour he had done her and the presents he had given her. The Christians told the Admiral that they were all a handsomer people and of better disposition than any others they had found until that time: but the Admiral says that he does not know how they can be of better disposition than the others, causing it to be understood that all those who had been found in the other islands were very well disposed. As to their beauty the Christians say that there is no comparison as well in the women as the men and that they are whiter than the others and that among the rest they saw two young girls as white as any could be in Spain. They said also in regard to the beauty of the lands that the best in Castile in beauty and goodness had no comparison with them, and the Admiral also saw it from those he had seen and from those he had before him, and they told him that those which he saw were not to be compared with the lands in that valley and that they were as much different from the field of Cordova as day is from night. They said that all those lands were cultivated and that a river flowed through the middle of that valley very large and wide, and which could irrigate all the lands. All the trees were green and full of fruit, and the grasses were all in flower and very high: the roads were very wide and good, the breezes were like those in Castile in the month of April, the nightingale and other small birds were singing as they do in Spain in the same month, so that they say it was the sweetest thing in the world. Small birds sang sweetly during the nights: many crickets and frogs were heard: there were fish the same as in Spain. They saw many mastic trees and aloes and cotton plantations: they found no gold and it is not wonderful that in such a short time they did not find any. The Admiral here ascertained the number of hours in the day and the night and from sun to sun; he found that twenty *ampolletas* [glasses of half an hour each] passed, although he says there might have been some error either because they were not turned quickly enough, or because some of the sand did not run through. He says also that he found by the quadrant that he was thirty-four degrees distant from the equinoctial line.¹

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 14.

He started from that *Puerto de la Concepcion* with a land breeze, and then after a little it calmed, and thus he experienced it each day of those he remained there. Afterward the wind became east. He navigated in this wind to the north-north-east and reached the *Isla de la Tortuga* and

¹ These by his quadrant were half degrees. Columbus found he was in 17° north latitude.

saw a point on this island which he called the *Punta Pierna* which was to the east-north-east of the head of the island, and might be at a distance of twelve miles, and from there he discovered another point which he called the *Punta Lanzada* in the same route to the north-east, which was about sixteen miles distant. And thus from the head of the *Tortuga* as far as the *Punta Aguda* it would be about forty-four miles, which are eleven leagues, to the east-north-east. On that course there were some long strips of beaches. This island of *Tortuga* is a very high country but not mountainous, and is very beautiful and well populated the same as the island of *Española* and the land is all so cultivated that one appears to see the field of Cordova. Having seen that the wind was contrary and that he could not go to the island of *Banque*, he decided to return to the *Puerto de la Concepcion*, from whence he had started, and he was not able to reach a river which is two leagues from the said harbour in the direction of the east.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 15.

He started from the *Puerto de la Concepcion* again on his course, but on going out of the harbour the wind blew strongly from the east which was contrary for him, and he turned and went to the *Tortuga* and from there he made an excursion to see that river which he had wished to see and reach yesterday and was not able to do so, and this time he could not make it either, although he anchored half a league to the leeward on a beach,—a good and clear harbour. Having anchored his vessels he went with the boats to see the river and entered an arm of the sea which is a half league nearer and it was not the mouth. He returned and found the mouth which was not even a fathom in depth and which had a very strong current: he entered it with the boats in order to reach the villages which the people he had sent the day before yesterday had seen and he threw the line on land and by means of the sailors pulling on it the boats ascended a distance of two lombard shots and he was not able to go farther on account of the strong current in the river. He saw some houses and the large valley where the villages are, and he said that he had never seen a more beautiful thing; and that river flowed through the middle of the valley. He also saw people at the entrance to the river, but all started to flee. He says further that those people must be very much hunted since they live in so much fear, because on reaching any place they make smoke signals by means of towers throughout all the land, and they do this more in this island of *Española* and in *Tortuga*, which also is a large island, than in the others he had left behind. He named the valley *Valle del Paraíso*¹ and the river *Guadalquivir*, because he says that it flows thus as large as the Guadalquivir by Cordova, and it shows very beautiful stones on its banks or edges and it is all navigable.

¹ This is thought to be the Port de Paix, so named by the French when they settled themselves there to escape their woes and tribulations on the island of *Tortuga*.

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 16.

At midnight in a very light land breeze he made sail to get out of that gulf, and in coming from the coast of the *Isla Española* he sailed close to the wind because afterward at the hour of *tercia* the wind blew from the east. In the middle of the gulf he found a canoe with an Indian alone in it, upon which the Admiral wondered how he was able to keep himself upon the water when there was such a high wind. He caused him and his canoe to be placed in the ship, and to flatter him, gave him glass beads, hawks' bells and brass rings and took him in his ship to land at a village which was sixteen miles from there beside the sea, where the Admiral anchored and found a good anchorage on the beach next to the village, which appeared to be newly built because all the houses were new. The Indian then went away with his canoe to land and gave news of the Admiral and of the Christians as being good people although they already considered them so through information from the others where the six Christians had gone, and then more than five hundred men came and after a little their King came, and they all gathered on the beach near the ships for they were anchored very near the land. And then one by one and in crowds they came to the ship without bringing anything with them, although some of them wore grains of very fine gold in their ears and noses, which they then gave away willingly. The Admiral ordered that all should be treated honorably, "and [says he] because they are the best and mildest people in the world: and above all because I have great hope in our Lord that your Highnesses will make them all Christians and they will all belong to you, for I regard them as yours." He saw also that the said King was on the beach as they all showed him respect. The Admiral sent him a present which he says he received with great state, and that he must have been a young man of about twenty-one years of age, and that he had an old governor or tutor and other counsellors who counselled him and replied to him and that he spoke very few words. One of the Indians the Admiral had with him spoke with the King and told him how the Christians came from heaven and that they were going in search of gold, and wished to go to the *Isla de Bancque*: and he replied that it was well and that in the said island there was a great deal of gold; he showed the Admiral's Alguacil who took him the present, the course that must be taken to go there and said that in two days one could go from that place to the island, and that if the Spaniards needed anything in his country, he would give it to them very willingly. This King and all the others went about naked as their mothers gave them birth, and the women also, without any timidity and they are the handsomest men and women who had been found up to that time: exceedingly white so that if they wore clothing and were protected from the sun and the air they would be almost as white as the people in Spain, for this country is very cool and the best that language can describe: it is very high and upon the highest mountain ploughing could be done with oxen and everything could be transformed

into arable lands and fields. In all Castile there is no land which can be compared to this in beauty and goodness. All this island and the island of Tortuga are entirely cultivated like the field of Cordova. They have the fields sown with "ajes" which are little branches which they plant, and at the foot of them small roots grow like carrots which serve as bread, and they grate them and knead them and make bread of them and afterward they plant the same little branch again in another place and it again produces four or five of those roots which are very palatable, and taste exactly like chestnuts. These which grow here are the largest and best he had seen anywhere, as he also says that he had them in Guinea. Those which grew in this place he says were as thick as the leg, and he says that all of the people there were strong and courageous and not feeble like the others he had found before, and they conversed very pleasantly and had no sect. And the trees there he says were so luxuriant that the leaves were not green but blackish in colour. It was a wonderful thing to see those valleys and the rivers and good waters and the lands suitable for bread-foods and for flocks of all kinds of which they had none, and suitable for orchards and for all the things in the world that a man may ask. Afterward in the afternoon the King came to the ship: the Admiral paid him the honour which was due him, and caused it to be said to him that he came from the Sovereigns of Castile who were the greatest Sovereigns in the world. But neither the Indians who were with the Admiral, who were the interpreters, believed anything of this, or the King either, but they believed the Christians came from heaven and that the realms of the Sovereigns of Castile were in the heavens and not in this world. The Christians gave the King some of the things of Castile to eat and he ate a mouthful and afterward gave all to his counsellors and to the Governor and to the others who were with him. "Your Highnesses may believe that these lands are so numerous and good and fertile and especially these of this *Isla Española* that there is no one who can describe it, and no one can believe it if he does not see it. And they may believe that this island and all the others are as much theirs as Castile as all that is necessary here is to build a town and order them to do what is desired. For I, with the people I have with me, who are not many in number, *could go through all these islands without any affront*; as I have already seen three of these sailors go on land where there was a multitude of the Indians and they all fled without any one's wishing to do them harm.¹ They have no arms and are all naked and have no knowledge of arms and are very cowardly, for a thousand of them would not face three Christians: and *so they are suitable*

¹ Under date of the sixteenth, in relating how the Indians told the other Indians that the Christians came from heaven and were going in search of gold, Las Casas interjects:

"It is a thing very incongruous to come from Heaven and go in search of gold."

He continues quoting what the Admiral said of the meekness of the Indians, and says:

"It must be here noted that the natural meekness, the simple, benign and humble condition of the Indians, their lack of arms, their going naked, made the Spaniards

to be governed and made to work and sow and do everything else that shall be necessary, and to build villages and be taught to wear clothing and observe our customs."

MONDAY, DECEMBER 17.

It blew that night strongly, the wind being east-north-east but the sea did not change much, because the *Isla de la Tortuga* which is in front of it and makes a shelter for it, protected and guarded it. So he remained there during that day. He sent some of the sailors to fish with nets. The Indians associated with the Christians a great deal and they brought them certain arrows belonging to the people of *Caniba* or the *Canibales*, and these arrows are made of spikes of canes and they use some little sharp hardened sticks for them and they are very large. They showed the Christians two men who had lost some pieces of flesh from their bodies, and made them understand that the Cannibals had eaten them by piece-meals. The Admiral did not believe it. He again sent certain Christians to the village, and by trading some worthless little glass beads they obtained some pieces of gold beaten into the form of a thin leaf. One Indian whom the Admiral took for the Governor of that Province and who was called *Cacique*, they observed to have a piece of that gold leaf as large as the hand and it appeared that he wished to trade it. He went away to his house and the others remained in the plaza and he caused that piece of gold to be broken into very small pieces, and bringing a piece at a time, he traded for it. After there was no more remaining, he said by signs that he had sent for more and the next day they would bring it to him. All these things, and their manner, and their customs, and meekness and counsel show them to be a more alert and intelligent people than the others he had found up to that time, says the Admiral. In the afternoon a canoe came there from the *Isla de la Tortuga* with all of forty men and on reaching the beach all the people of the village who were together seated themselves as a sign of peace, and some from the canoe, and then almost all came on land. "The *Cacique* arose alone and with words which appeared to be threatening made them return to the canoe and threw them water and took stones from the beach and threw them in the water: and after all had very obediently placed themselves in the canoe and embarked, he took a stone and placed it in the hand of my Alguacil whom I had sent on land with the Escribano and others to see if they could bring back anything valuable,—that he might throw it, and the Alguacil would not do so." That *Cacique* there showed very plainly that he favoured the Admiral. The canoe then went away and they said to the Admiral after its departure that in *Tortuga* there was more gold than in the island of *Española*

bold to consider them lightly, and to place them in the very hard labours to which they put them, and to be cruel to them so as to oppress them and consume them, as they did consume them. And certainly the Admiral extended his speech more than he should, and from what he here conceived and gave utterance to, must have originated the bad treatment which he afterwards pursued toward them."

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because it is nearer *Baneque*. The Admiral said that he believed there were no mines of gold either in the *Isla Española* or *Tortuga*, but that they brought it from *Baneque* and that they bring a small quantity because they have nothing to give for it, and that country is so rich that it is not necessary for them to work much to sustain themselves or clothe themselves as they go naked. And the Admiral believed that this was very near the fountain head and that our Lord was about to show him where the gold originates. He was informed that from there to *Baneque* it was four days' journey which must have been thirty or forty leagues, which he could make in one day of good wind.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 18.

He remained anchored by this beach during this day as there was no wind and also because the *Cacique* had said that gold would be brought not because he considered [says the Admiral] that much gold could be brought as there were no mines there, but in order to know better from whence it was brought. Then at dawn he ordered the ship and caravels decorated with arms and banners for the festival, as this was the day of *Sancta Maria de la O*,² or the commemoration of the Annunciation. They fired many lombard shots: and the King of that *Isla Española* [says the Admiral] had arisen early from his house which must have been at a distance of five leagues from there, as well as he could judge,³ and he reached that village at the hour of *tercia*, where there were already some of the people from the ship whom the Admiral had sent to see if any gold was brought: these Christians said that more than two hundred men came with the King and that four men brought him in a litter and that he was a young man as told above. To-day as the Admiral was eating below the forecastle the King arrived at the ship with all his people. And the Admiral says to the Sovereigns: "Without doubt his state and the respect which they all show him would appear well to your Highnesses, although they are all without clothing. And as he entered the ship he found that I was eating at the table below the stern forecastle, and he came quickly to seat himself beside me and would not allow me to go to meet him or get up from the table but only that I should eat. I thought that he would like to eat some of our viands: and I then ordered that things should be brought him to eat. And when he entered under the forecastle, he signed with his hand that all his people should remain without and they did so with the greatest haste and respect in the world and all seated themselves on the deck, except two men of mature age whom I took to be his coun-

¹ Las Casas here remarks that the island of *Baneque* never materialised. It is possible it was Jamaica, but it is more likely that the Spaniards misunderstood the Indians entirely.

² One of the many virgins honoured as saints in Spain.

³ It must be that the Admiral could not judge very well. Perhaps the good Bishop of Chiapas is at fault in his transcribing the *Journal*. At all events, throughout this part of the *Journal* the distances given are quite incorrect.

sellors and governors and who came and seated themselves at his feet: and of the viands which I placed before him he took of each one as much as may be taken for a salutation and then he sent the rest to his people and they all ate some of it and he did the same with the drink which he only touched to his mouth and then gave it to the others in the same way and it was all done in wonderful state and with very few words and whatever he said, according to what I was able to understand, was very formal and prudent and those two looked in his face and spoke for him and with him, and with great respect. After eating, a page brought a belt which is like those of Castile in shape, but of a different make, which he took and gave to me and also two wrought pieces of gold which were very thin, as I believe they obtain very little of it here, although I consider they are very near the place where it has its home and that there is a great deal of it. I saw that a drapery that I had upon my bed pleased him. I gave it to him and some very good amber beads which I wore around my neck and some red shoes and a flask of orange flower water, with which he was so pleased it was wonderful; and he and his governor and counsellors were very sorry that they did not understand me, nor I, them. Nevertheless I understood that he told me that if anything from here would satisfy me that all the island was at my command. I sent for some beads of mine where as a sign I have an 'excelente'¹ of gold upon which the images of your Highnesses are engraved and showed it to him, and again told him the same as yesterday that your Highnesses command and rule over all the best part of the world and that there are no other such great Princes: and I showed him the royal banners and the others with the cross, which he held in great estimation: and he said to his counsellors that your Highnesses must be great Lords, since you had sent me here from so far without fear: and many other things happened which I did not understand, except that I very well saw he considered everything as very wonderful." Then as it was already late and he wished to go away, the Admiral sent him in the boat with great honours and caused many lombards to be fired; and having reached land he got into his litter and went away with his two hundred men and more, and his son was carried behind him on the shoulders of an Indian, a very honourable man. Wherever he encountered the sailors and people from the ships, he ordered that something to eat should be given them and they should be paid a great deal of honour. A sailor said that he had met him on the way and had seen that all the things which the Admiral had given him were each one carried before the King by a man, who appeared to be one of the most important men. His son was following behind the King at some distance with as large a number of people as he had, and likewise a brother of the King, except that the brother was on foot and two of the principal men were leading him by the arms. This

¹ Las Casas says in the *Historia*: "

"The Admiral showed him a piece of fine gold money which circulated in those times in Castile and which was called 'excelente.' It was worth two castellanos [which I, who write this, saw and obtained]. Upon it were engraved the countenances of the King and Queen, which he admired very much."

brother came to the ship after the King came, and the Admiral gave him some things from the said articles of barter and then the Admiral learned that the King was called in his language *Cacique*. On this day he says he traded for only a small quantity of gold: but the Admiral learned from an old man that there were many islands in that vicinity at a distance of a hundred leagues and more, according to what he could understand, in which a great quantity of gold is found and in the others there is so much that he told him there was an island which was all gold, and there is such a quantity in the others that they gather it and sift it as with sieves and melt it and make "bars" and work it in a thousand ways: they show the manner in which this is done, by signs. This old man indicated to the Admiral the course to these islands and the place where they lay: the Admiral determined to go there and said that if the said old man had not been one of the principal persons belonging to the King that he would have detained him and taken him with him, or if he had known the language that he would have begged him to accompany him and he believed as he was on such good terms with him and with the Christians, that he would have gone with him of his own will. But as he already considered those people as belonging to the Sovereigns of Castile and it was not right to offend them, he decided to leave him. He placed a very large cross in the centre of the plaza of that village in which the Indians assisted greatly: and they said prayers, he said, and adored it, and from their actions the Admiral hopes in the Lord that all those islands are to be Christianised.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 19.

This night he made sail to get out of that gulf which the *Isla Española* and *Tortuga* make there, and when day arrived the wind changed to the east, on which account during all that day he could not get out from between those two islands, and at night he was not able to reach a harbour¹ which appeared there. He saw four points of land near there and a large bay and river and from that place he saw a very large promontory,² and there was a village and back of it a valley between many very high mountains, covered with trees which he judged to be pines; and upon the *Dos Hermanos*³ there is a very high and large mountain which extends from north-east to south-west and to the east-south-east of the *Cabo de Torres* there is a small island which he named *Santo Tomás* as the next day was his vigil. All around that island there are capes and wonderful harbours, according to what he could judge from the sea. In the forepart of the island on the western part there is a cape partly high and partly low which projects far out into the sea and on that account he named it *Cabo Alto y*

¹ Said by Navarrete to be the Puerto de la Granja.

² The Point Margot.

³ The Admiral writes as if he had already bestowed upon some place the name of the *Dos Hermanos*, or Two Brothers. The Cape of Torres is also mentioned for the first time, but as if named before. It is identified by Navarrete as the Point Limbé.

Bajo. At a distance from Torres of sixty miles in the direction of the east, quarter south-east, there is a higher mountain than the other which projects into the sea¹ and appears at a distance to be an island by itself on account of a cut which it has on the land side. He named it *Monte Caribata* because that province is called *Caribata*. It is very beautiful and covered with trees of a bright green without snow and without mists and the weather there in respect to the breezes and temperateness was the same as it is in Castile in the month of March and in respect to the trees and grasses it was like the month of May in Castile. The nights, he says, were of fourteen hours duration.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 20.

To-day at sunset he entered a harbour which was between the island of *Santo Tomás* and the *Cabo de Caribata*,² and anchored. This harbour is very beautiful and all the ships there are in Christendom could be contained therein. Its entrance appears impossible from the sea to those who have not entered it, on account of some obstructing rocks which extend from the mountain almost as far as the island and which are not placed in order, but there is one here and another there, some in the sea and some by the land. On this account it is necessary to be watchful, in order to enter it by some entrances it has which are very wide and suitable to enter without fear, and the water is all seven fathoms deep and having passed the rocks it is twelve fathoms deep inside. The ship can be fastened with any cord whatever against any winds there may be. At the entrance of this harbour he says there is a channel [*cañal*] which lies to the west of a small sandy island and there are many trees upon this island, and up to the foot of it there are seven fathoms of water: but there are many shoals in this vicinity and it is necessary to keep the eyes open until the harbour is entered: then there is no fear of all the tempests in the world. From that harbour a very large valley appeared, all cultivated, which descends to the harbour from the south-east: it is all surrounded with very high mountains which appear to reach heaven and are very beautiful and covered with green trees; and without doubt there are mountains there which are higher than the island of Tenerife³ in Canaria, which is held to be the highest that can be found. A league from this part of the *Isla de Santo Tomás* there is another small island and nearer than that, another; and in all there are wonderful harbours but it is necessary to look out for the shoals. The Admiral saw villages and the smoke which they made.⁴

¹ Navarrete says this is a mountain upon Guarico.

² This, Navarrete identifies as the Bay of Acul.

³ Of course there is no mountain on Santo Domingo as high as Tenerife.

⁴ In speaking of the fires which the Admiral thought to be watch-fires, Las Casas says in the *Historia*:

" . . . But it could not have been for this cause, but rather [on this island especially, as at this time it is dry], the Indians are inclined to enjoy setting fire to the pasture lands, which were very large on account of the innumerable smooth level

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 21.

To-day he went with the boats from the ships to see that harbour: which he saw to be such that he affirms none yet seen is equal to it: and he excuses himself saying that he has praised those he has passed so much that he does not know how to rate this one highly enough: and he fears that he may be considered as magnifying the truth of things to an excessive degree. He guards against this, saying: that he is taking old sailors with him and these say, and *will* say the same, and so also every one of those who go on the sea: that is to say, that all his praises of the harbours he has passed are true and it is also the truth that this harbour is much better than all the others. He further says, as follows: "I have been twenty-three years upon the sea without quitting it for any time long enough to be counted, and I saw all the East and West as it is called in going to the north, which is England, and I have travelled through Guinea, but in all these regions the perfection of harbours will not be found . . . [lacuna of a line and a half] found always the [lacuna]¹ better than the other. I considered what I had written very carefully and I say again that I assert I have written well and that now this harbour surpasses all the others, and all the ships in the world could be contained in it, and it is so sheltered that the oldest cable on a ship would hold it fast."

It is five ² leagues from the entrance to the innermost point. He saw very well cultivated lands, although they are all like that, and he ordered two men to get out of the boats and go to an elevation to see if there was a village, because none could be seen from the sea: although that night about ten o'clock certain Indians came to the ships in a canoe to see the Admiral and the Christians, as being something wonderful, and the Admiral gave them some of the articles of barter with which they were greatly pleased. The two Christians returned and told where they had seen a large village ³ a little distance from the sea. The Admiral ordered them to row toward the place where the village was until they arrived near the land, and he saw some Indians who came to the sea-shore and it appeared that they came with fear, on which account he ordered the boats stopped

fields, which they call in their language 'çabanas': they do this [the burning] for one reason because the grass, of which there is so much, stops or overruns the roads and as they are naked, it hurts them; and for another reason because the rabbits of this island which they call 'hutias' grow in this grass, and they were without number, and in burning the 'çabanas' they kill all they wish, and on this account they are accustomed to burn them."

It is frequently said that the Admiral noticed these fires in his subsequent visits to Cuba, and there is a legend that once when off the southern coast of the island they beheld countless fires, and one of the crew observed "*Mira los cien fuegos*" [Behold the hundred fires], a name which is fixed to one of the Cuban cities, in the harbour of which a fleet of modern war-ships might comfortably be anchored.

¹ The occurrence of these lacunæ indicates the difficulty Las Casas experienced in reading the Admiral's *Journal*.

² Navarrete corrects this by saying the distance is only five miles.

³ Again Navarrete identifies the harbour as the Bay of Acul, and this village as the site of Acul.

and told the Indians he was carrying in the ships, to speak to them and tell them that no injury would be done to them. They then drew nearer to the sea and the Admiral drew nearer to the land, and after they became entirely free from fear, so many came that they covered the land, offering a thousand thanks, the men as well as the women and children. Some ran here and others there to bring us bread which they make from *niames*, which they call "ajes," which is very white and good and they brought us water in gourds and in clay pitchers shaped like those of Castile, and they brought us all they had in the world and knew the Admiral wished for, and all so generously and joyfully that it was wonderful "and it cannot be said that because what they gave us was of little value that on this account they gave it freely [says the Admiral] because those who gave pieces of gold did it in the same way and as liberally as those who gave a gourd of water: and it is an easy thing to recognise [says the Admiral] when a thing is given very willingly and eagerly." These are his words. "These people have no pikes or spears or any other arms, neither have the other inhabitants of all this island, which I believe to be very large: they are naked as their mothers gave them birth, men as well as women; but in the other countries of *Juana* and those of the other islands the women wore in front, pieces of cotton something like men's breeches, with which they covered their genital parts, and especially after they had passed the age of twelve years, but here neither young nor old wore it. And in the other places all the men made the women hide from the Christians through jealousy, but here they do not, and there are some very pretty women, and they are the first who came to give thanks to Heaven and bring whatever they had, especially things to eat, bread made from 'ajes,' *gonza avellanada* and five or six kinds of fruits." The Admiral ordered some of the fruit cured in order to take it to the Sovereigns. The women in the other places he says did the same before they were concealed, and the Admiral ordered everywhere that all his people should be on guard not to annoy any of them in any manner, and that no one should take anything from them against their will, and so the Christians paid them for everything they received from them. Finally [says the Admiral] it cannot be believed that men have seen a people with such good hearts and so liberal in giving and so fearful that they strip themselves of everything to give all they have to the Christians, and on the arrival of the Christians, they then run to bring everything to them. Then the Admiral sent six Christians to the village to see what it was, and the people showed them all the honour they knew how and were able to show, and gave them whatever they had because they were no longer in any doubt but believed that the Admiral and all his people had come from Heaven: the Indians whom the Admiral had brought from the other islands also believed this, although what they ought to believe in respect to this matter had already been told them. After the six Christians had gone, certain canoes came bringing people to pray the Admiral on the part of a certain chief, to go to his village when he left this place. *Canoe* is a boat in which they navigate and some of

them are large and some small. And having seen that the village of that chief was on the way, situated on a point of land, and that he was waiting for the Admiral with many people, he went there, but before he started, so many people, men and women and children, came to the shore that it was frightful and they were all crying loudly that he must not go away but must remain with them. The messengers of the other chief who had come to invite him were waiting with their canoes that he might not go away without going to see the Chief: and so he went to see him. When the Admiral arrived where that Chief was waiting for him with a great many things to eat, the Chief ordered all his people to be seated, telling them then to take whatever they had to eat to the boats where the Admiral was, near to the shores of the sea. And having seen that the Admiral had received what they had taken to him, all or the greater part of the Indians commenced running to the village, which must have been near, in order to bring him more eatables and parrots and other things which they had, with such generosity that it was wonderful. The Admiral gave them glass beads and brass rings and hawks' bells, not because they asked for anything but because it appeared to him that it was right, and above all [says the Admiral] because he already considers them as Christians and as belonging to the Sovereigns of Castile more than the people of Castile: and he says that nothing else is lacking save to know the language and to give them orders because all that they are ordered to do, they will do without any contradiction. The Admiral left that place for the ships, and the Indians, men, women, and children, cried out for the Christians not to go away but to remain with them. After the Christians left, canoes filled with the Indians followed them to the ships, and the Admiral treated them with great honour and gave them things to eat and other things they had with them. Another chief had also come previously from the west and many people even came swimming, though the ship was more than a long half league from the land. The Chief of whom I spoke, having returned, the Admiral sent certain persons to see him and question him about these islands: and he received them very well and took them with him to his village to give them certain large pieces of gold; and they arrived at a large river which the Indians swam across but the Christians were not able to do so and so they returned. In all this region there are very high mountains which appear to reach Heaven, so that the mountains of the island of Tenerife appear nothing in comparison with them in height and in beauty and they are all green and covered with forests which is a wonderful thing. In their midst are very delightful plains and at the foot of this harbour to the south there is such a great plain without an obstructing mountain, that the eyes cannot see to the end of it, and it appears that it must be fifteen or twenty leagues long: and a river flows through it and it is all populated and cultivated and is as green now as if it were in Castile in the month of May or June, although the nights are fourteen hours in length and the land is so northerly. Therefore this harbour ¹ is very good whatever winds may

¹ He appears to be still describing the Bay of Acul.

blow, sheltered and deep, and all the country is inhabited by a very good and mild people, and they have no arms either good or bad. And any ship whatever may be free from fear in this harbour that other ships might come by night to assault it, because, although the mouth is more than two leagues wide, it is very contracted by reason of two rocky reefs which are hardly seen above the water: and there is a very narrow entrance in this reef which appears as if it could only have been made by hand, which left an opening wide enough for ships to enter. In the mouth it is seven fathoms in depth to the foot of a small level island which has a beach and trees at the foot of it: the entrance is to the west, and a ship can approach near enough to touch the rock without fear. There are three islands to the north-west and a large river a league from the head of the harbour. It is the best harbour in the world and he named it the *Puerto de la Mar de Santo Tomás* because this day was the day of St. Thomas. He called it a sea on account of its size.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 22.

At dawn he set sail in order to go on his course in search of the islands which the Indians said contained a great deal of gold, and that some contained more gold than land. But the weather was not favourable and he had to anchor again and sent the boat to fish with nets. The Chief of that country¹ who had a place near there sent him a large canoe full of people, and in it one of his principal servants, to entreat the Admiral to go with the ships to his country and he would give him whatever he had. He sent the Admiral by this servant a belt which in place of a purse had a mask attached with two large ears and a tongue and nose of beaten gold. And this people are so generous that whatever is asked of them they give with the best will in the world, and it appears to them that in asking them for something a great favour is shown them. The Admiral says this. The Indians in the canoe met the boat from the ship and gave the belt to a boy and came with their canoe on board the ship to perform their errand. Before they could understand each other some part of the day passed, neither could the Indians whom the Admiral had with him understand them well, because there is some difference in the names of things: finally he finished by understanding the invitation of these Indians, by means of signs. The Admiral determined to start for that place on Sunday although he was not in the habit of leaving port on Sunday, solely on account of his devotion and not from any superstition whatever. But because he hopes, he says, that the people of those villages will be Christianised on account of their good-will, and that this will be accomplished by the Sovereigns of Spain, and because he already considers them as belonging to the Sovereigns, and that they may serve the Sovereigns lovingly he is agreeable to them and strives to please them. Before he started to-day he sent six men to a very large village three leagues from there to the west,

¹ This is the famous Guacanagari, King of the province of Marien, who was so good to the Spaniards and who was so ill requited.

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because the Chief of that village came to the Admiral the day before and told him that he had certain pieces of gold. On the arrival of the Christians at that place the Chief took the Escribano of the Admiral who was with the Christians by the hand. *The Admiral sent the Escribano to prevent the other Spaniards from doing anything unjust to the Indians* because the Indians were so generous and the Spaniards so avaricious and unreasonable that they were not satisfied to have the Indians give them whatever they desired for the end of a leather strap and even for a piece of glass and earthen ware and for other things of no value; but even without giving them anything they desired to have everything and take everything, *which the Admiral always prohibited*, although the things they gave to the Christians with the exception of the gold were always of small value. But the Admiral, considering the generous hearts of the Indians, who would give, and in fact did give, a piece of gold for six cheap little glass beads, on that account ordered that nothing should be received from them for which something was not given in payment. So that the Chief took the Escribano by the hand and conducted him to his house with all the people, a very great number, who accompanied him and made them give the Spaniards something to eat, and all the Indians brought them many things made of cotton and little balls of the same. Afterward in the afternoon the Chief gave them three very fat geese and some small pieces of gold. And a great number of Indians came with them carrying for them all the things for which they had traded, and contending among themselves as to carrying them on their shoulders and they actually did carry them across some rivers and muddy places. The Admiral ordered that some things should be given to the Chief and he and all his people were greatly pleased, believing that the Christians had really come from heaven and they considered themselves fortunate in seeing them. More than one hundred and twenty canoes came to the ships on this day all loaded with people and all bringing something, especially their bread and fish, and water in small earthen jars and seeds of many good kinds of spices. They throw a grain of these seeds in a porringer of water and drink it and the Indians that the Admiral had with him say that it was a very healthful thing.

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 23.

He could not start for the country of that Chief who had sent to entreat and invite him to come, as there was no wind: but he sent some people and the Escribano in the boats with the three messengers who were waiting there. In the meantime while they were gone, he sent two of the Indians he had with him to the villages which were near the place where the ships were, and these Indians returned with a chief to the ships, with the news that in that island of Española there was a great quantity of gold and that people from other places came there to buy it, and they told him that he would find as much as he desired there. Others came who confirmed there being much gold on the island and they showed him their manner of obtain-

ing it. The Admiral understood all that with difficulty: but yet he felt certain that in those regions there was a very great quantity of gold and that in finding the place from which it is obtained he would get it very cheaply and as he imagined, even for nothing. And he repeats that he believes there must be a great deal of it, because in the three days which he remained in that harbour he had received good pieces of gold and he can not believe that it is brought there from another country. *May our Lord, Who has all things in His hands assist me and give me whatever may be for His service.* These are the words of the Admiral. He says that at that time he believes more than a thousand persons came to the vessel and they all brought something from what they possessed: and before they reached the ship, at a distance of half a cross-bow shot, they arose to their feet in their canoes and took what they were bringing in their hands, saying: "Take, Take." Also he says he believes that more than five hundred came swimming to the ships on account of not having canoes, and he was anchored about a league from land. He judged that five princes, sons of chiefs, with all their household, women and children, had come to see the Christians. The Admiral ordered something given to every one, because he says, it was all well employed, and he says: *May our Lord in His mercy direct me until I find this gold, I say this Mine, because I have many people here who say that they know it:* these are his words. The boats arrived in the night and they said that they had come from a long distance, and that at the mountain of *Caribatan* they found many canoes with a great many people who were coming from the place whither the Christians were going, to see the Admiral and the Christians. And he considered it certain that if he could be in that harbour¹ for the feast of the Nativity that all the people would come from that island, which he already estimated to be larger than England, to see the Christians. The canoes all returned with the Christians to the village, which, he says, they affirm to be larger and with better arranged streets than any others passed and discovered up to that time. This village, he says, is almost three leagues to the south-east of the *Punta Santa*. And as the canoes go rapidly with oars they went ahead to make known to the *Cacique* that the Christians were coming. Up to that time the Admiral had not been able to understand whether by *Cacique* they meant King or Governor. They also have another word for a great personage, that is to say *Ñitayno*, and he did not know whether it meant a Hidalgo, Governor or Judge. Finally the *Cacique* came to them, and all the people of the village consisting of more than

¹ This is Guarico, known to-day as Cape Haitien. It was called by the French Cape François. When King Christophe was at the head of affairs it was called Cape Henry in his honour. The people of the island refer to it as simply the Cape. It is now not much better than a ruined city, but once, during the French occupancy, it was known as the Paris of Santo Domingo.

² The fact that this *Punta Santa* has not yet been named in this abridged *Journal* makes it evident that now, as in several other instances, the original document was not closely followed by Las Casas. The Admiral had a great fondness for bestowing names on points of land and bodies of water.

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two thousand men, united in the plaza, which was very clean. This King paid great honours to the people from the ships and each one of the people brought them something to eat and to drink. Then the King gave to each one of them some cotton cloths such as the women wear, and parrots for the Admiral, and certain pieces of gold: the people also gave the sailors some of the same cloths and other things from their houses for the little things which they gave them, which from the manner in which they received them, it appeared they esteemed as reliques. In the afternoon when they wished to take leave the King begged them to wait until another day and all the people did the same; but having seen that they had determined to come away, many of the Indians came with them carrying on their shoulders the things which the *Cacique* and the others had given them as far as the boats, which remained at the entrance of the river.

× MONDAY, DECEMBER 24.

Before sunrise he weighed the anchors, with a land breeze. Among the many Indians who had come to the ship yesterday and had given them indications of there being gold on that island and had named the places where it was found, he saw one, who, it appears was better disposed and more affectionate, or who spoke to him with more pleasure. The Admiral flattered him, begging him to go away with him to show him the mines of gold. This Indian brought with him another, a companion or relative and among the other places which they named where gold was found, they told of *Cipango*,¹ which they call *Civao*, and there they say there is a great quantity of gold, and that the *Cacique* carries banners of hammered gold, *but that it is a great distance to the east*.² The Admiral here says these words to the Sovereigns: "Your Highnesses may believe that in all the world there cannot be better or more quiet people. Your Highnesses must be greatly pleased, because they will soon make them Christians and will teach them the good customs of their realms, because there cannot be a better people or country: and the people are so numerous and the country so great that I do not yet know how to write it, be-

¹ Las Casas, in the *Historia*, adds: "The Admiral having heard that this land of Cibao was a country where gold originated, it is to be believed that his heart rejoiced and his hope doubled, recalling the chart or figure of the island of Cipango, which Paul, the Physician, sent him."

² The Indians told Columbus that this other country, called *Civao* or *Cibao*, and which he inferred was *Cipango*, was situated at a great distance toward the east. All things are relative, and we cannot tell whether Columbus understood the Indians as saying that at a considerable distance eastward upon that same island of *Española* was to be found a great quantity of gold, or that such a country lay at a great distance from that island and toward the *east*, that is to say, toward *Toscanelli's east*, the sought-for Indies. In this latter case the Indians might have pointed toward the Gulf of Mexico or the Gulf of Honduras. The use among them of the gold masks is suggestive of intercourse with the peoples of the continental coasts. The reference to *Cibao* under the next day's entry would seem to suggest that the Indians intended to call one of the provinces on *Española* by the name of *Cibao* or *Civao*.

cause I have spoken in the superlative degree of the people and the country of *Juana*, which they call *Cuba*; but there is as much difference between the people of this country and the people of *Juana* as there is between day and night. Neither do I believe that any other person who saw this, would have done or said less than I have said, and I say that it is true that the things here are marvellous and so also are the great villages of this island of *Española*, as I have named it and which they call *Bohio*.¹ And all the people behave in a remarkably friendly manner and speak softly, not like the other Indians who appear to threaten when they speak, and the men and women are of good stature and are not black. It is true that they all paint themselves, some black and others in other colours, and mostly red. I have learned that they do it on account of the sun, which then does not injure them as much. And the houses and settlements are very beautiful and they are all governed by a Lord or Judge, and all obey him so that it is a marvel. And all these Lords speak very few words and have very fine manners, and their commands are given usually by a sign of the hand, and then it is understood in a wonderful manner." All these are the words of the Admiral.

Whoever is obliged to enter the sea of *Santo Tomé*² must put in a good league above the mouth of the entrance toward a small flat island which the Admiral named *La Amiga* which is in the middle of it, turning the prow toward it. And after he arrives within the "ot"³ of a stone from it, must go to the west, and leave the island to the east and must keep near it and not go to the other side, because there is a very large reef to the west, and also in the sea outside of it there are three shoals, and this reef reaches within a lombard shot of *La Amiga*: and he will pass in the middle and will find at the most shallow place seven fathoms of water with gravel underneath, and inside he will find a harbour for all the ships in the world where they can remain without cables. There is another reef and more shoals which extend from the east toward the said Island of *Amiga* and they are very large and extend far out into the sea and reach almost within two leagues of the cape; but it appeared that there was an entrance between them at a distance of two lombard shots from *La Amiga*, and at the foot of *Monte Caribatan* on its west side, there is a very good and large harbour.⁴

¹ Here the island of *Española* or *Santo Domingo* is clearly identified as the *Bohio* of the Indians.

² *Las Casas* is now looking back over the *Journal* and is again describing the harbour or Bay of *Acul*. The small flat island is *Isla de Ratas*.

³ *Navarrete* thinks this illegible place in the manuscript should be read as if it were written *con el oto de una piedra*.

⁴ This harbour is Cape Haitien. It was seventy miles eastward of *De Torres*, according to the entry under date of December 19. This is made a trifle clearer by the reference the following day to the harbour in the Bay of *Acul*, which *Las Casas* says was between the island of *St. Thomas* and *Cabo de Caribata*.

Las Casas had the rather unpleasant habit, after describing the places visited on a certain day, of interjecting a description of some place seen a week before.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 25, THE DAY OF NATIVITY.

Sailing in a light wind yesterday from the sea of *Santo Tomé* to the *Punta Santa*, from which he was a league's distance at the passing of the first quarter, which would be at eleven o'clock at night, he decided to lie down to sleep because *he had not slept for two days and one night*. As there was a calm, the sailor who was steering the ship decided to go away and sleep and *left the steering to a young ship's boy*, a thing which the Admiral had always expressly prohibited in all the voyage, whether there was a wind or a calm: that is to say that the ships should not be steered by young boys. The Admiral felt secure from banks and rocks because on Sunday when he had sent the boats to that King, they had passed a good three leagues and a half to the east of the said *Punta Santa* and the sailors had seen all the coast and the shoals which extend from the said *Punta Santa* a good three leagues to the east-south-east and they saw where they could pass, which he had not done before on all this voyage. Our Lord willed that at twelve o'clock at night, as the crew had seen the Admiral lie down and repose and they also saw that there was a dead calm and the sea was as in a porringer [bowl], they all lay down to sleep and left the steering in the hands of that boy, and the currents which were flowing carried the ship upon one of the banks. Although it was night they made such a noise that they were seen and heard at a good league's distance, and the ship went upon the bank so quietly that it was hardly felt. The boy who felt the helm catch and heard the noise of the sea, cried out, upon which the Admiral came out and was so quick that no one had yet felt that they were aground. Then the master of the ship who was the guard, came out: and the Admiral told them to launch the small vessel which they were carrying at the stern, and to take an anchor and cast it at the stern: and the master with many others jumped into the small vessel and the Admiral thought that they would do what he had told them: but they thought only of flying to the caravel which was a half league to the windward. The people on the caravel would not receive them, which was right, and on this account they returned to the ship, but first the boat from the caravel reached it. When the Admiral saw that they were fleeing and they were his people, and that the waters were falling and that the ship was athwart in the sea, not seeing any other remedy, he ordered the mast cut and the ship lightened as much as they were able, to see if they could not float her; but as the waters were yet falling, and as the ship settled more and more to one side in the water, although there was very little or no sea, he could not save her. Then the seams¹ opened but the ship remained whole. The Admiral went to the caravel to place the people from his ship in safety, and as there was a light breeze blowing from the land and also as the night was not yet much advanced, and he did not know how far the banks extended, he beat about, *à la corda*, until it was day and then went to the ship inside the bank. First he had sent the

¹ The word in the original is *conventos*.

small vessel to land with Diego de Arana, of Cordova, Alguacil of the fleet, and Pedro Gutierrez, "repostero" of the Royal House, to inform the King who had sent on Saturday to invite and beg him to go with his ships to his harbour. The village of this King was about a league and a half beyond the said bank: and they say that *the King wept when he heard of the disaster and sent all his people from the village with many large canoes to unload the ship*: and so it was done and everything was unloaded from the decks of the ship in a very brief space of time, such was the great haste and diligence which that King displayed. And he in person with his brothers and relatives showed great assiduity both in the matter of unloading the ship and guarding what was thrown on land that everything might be in security.

From time to time he sent one of his relatives weeping to the Admiral to console him, saying that he must not feel troubled or annoyed, and that he would give him whatever he possessed. The Admiral certifies to the Sovereigns that in no part of Castile could things be placed in such safety without the loss of so much as a leather strap. The King ordered everything placed near the houses while some houses which he wished to give up were vacated, where everything could be stored and guarded. He ordered armed men placed around everything to watch all night. "He with all the people in the village wept a great deal [says the Admiral]: they are an affectionate people and free from avarice and agreeable in everything and I certify to your Highnesses that in all the world I do not believe there is a better people or a better country: they love their neighbours as themselves and they have the softest and gentlest speech in the world and are always laughing. They go naked, men and women, as their mothers gave them birth. But your Highnesses may believe that they have very good customs among themselves and the King maintains a most wonderful state, and everything takes place in such an appropriate and well-ordered manner that it is a pleasure to see it all: and they have good memories, and wish to see everything and they ask what it is and for what purpose." The Admiral says all this as above.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 26.

To-day at sunrise the King of that country came to the caravel *Niña*, where the Admiral was, and almost crying told him not to feel bad because he would give him whatever he had, and that he had given two very large houses to the Christians who were on land and that he would give them more if it was necessary and as many canoes as would be needed to load and unload the ship and place the cargo on land, with as many people as he desired: and that he had done so yesterday without even a particle of bread being taken or any other thing: "They are so faithful [says the Admiral] and so little covetous of the property of others and in this respect that King was more just than all the others." While the Admiral was talking with him, another canoe came from another place bringing certain

pieces of gold, which the Indians wished to give for a hawk's bell because they did not desire anything else as much as hawks' bells. The canoe had not yet reached the side of the ship when they called and showed the pieces of gold, saying *chuq chuq* for hawks' bells, as they are in a likely state to become crazy for them. After having seen this the Indians on these canoes which were from the other places, in leaving, called to the Admiral and begged him to order a hawk's bell kept for them until the next day, for which they would bring four pieces of gold as large as the hand. The Admiral was pleased to hear this and then a sailor who came from land told the Admiral that the pieces of gold which the Christians who were on land were trading for nothing, were wonderful: for a leather strap they gave pieces which would be worth more than two castellanos, and that it was nothing then to what it would be at the end of a month. The King was delighted to see the Admiral pleased and he understood that he desired a great deal of gold and he told him by signs that he knew where there was a great amount of it near there, and that he must be of good cheer for he would give him as much gold as he wished. And the Admiral says that he gave him an account of it and in particular told him that they have it in Cipango which they call *Civao*,¹ in such quantity that they do not value it at all and that they would bring it there, although also in the island of Española which they call *Bohio* and in that province of *Caribata*, there is much more of it. The King ate on the caravel with the Admiral and afterward went with him on land where he paid the Admiral great honours, and gave him a repast of two or three kinds of "ajes" with shrimps, game and other viands which they had and their bread which they called *casavi*. Then he took him to see some clumps of trees near the houses, and fully a thousand persons, all naked, went with him. The King was already wearing a shirt and a pair of gloves which the Admiral had given him, and he rejoiced more over the gloves than anything which had been given him. By his manner of eating, his honesty and his exquisite cleanliness, he showed himself to be of good birth. After having eaten, as they remained at the table some time, they brought certain herbs with which they rubbed their hands a great deal. The Admiral believed they did it to soften them, and they gave him water for his hands. After they had finished eating they took the Admiral to the beach, and he sent for a Turkish bow and a handful of arrows, and the Admiral made a man from among his company who was skilful in the exercise, shoot the arrows. And as the King did not know what arms are, as they do not possess them or use them, it appeared to him to be a great thing. Although he [the Admiral] says that the beginning was from a conversation they had about the people of Caniba, whom they call Caribs [Caribes], who come to take them and who carry bows and arrows without iron, as in all those countries

¹ In the *Historia* Las Casas remarks:

"Always upon hearing of Cibao the Admiral's heart was gladdened, judging Cibao to be the island which was depicted on his chart and the one which, according to Paul, the Physician, he hoped to find: and so he did not understand that it might be a province of this island but that it was an island by itself."

they have no knowledge of iron and of steel nor of any other metal, except of gold and copper, although the Admiral had seen but little copper. The Admiral told him by signs that the Sovereigns of Castile would order the Caribs destroyed, and that they would order them all brought to him with the hands tied. The Admiral ordered a lombard and a musket to be fired and seeing the effect of their force and what they penetrated, the King marvelled greatly. And when his people heard the shots they all fell to the ground. They brought the Admiral a large mask, which had great pieces of gold in the ears and eyes and in other places, which the King himself gave him, and which with other jewels of gold he placed on the head and around the neck of the Admiral: and they also gave a great deal to the other Christians who were with the Admiral. The Admiral derived great pleasure and consolation from these things which he saw and it tempered the trouble and affliction he had experienced and was feeling in losing the ship and he recognised that our *Lord had caused him to run aground at that place that he might make a settlement there.* "And [he says], so many things came to hand here, that the disaster was really nothing other than a great good fortune. Because it is certain [he says] that if I had not run aground here, I should have kept out to sea without anchoring at this place, because it is situated here inside a large bay and in the bay there are two or three banks of shoals. Neither would I have left people here on this voyage, and even if I had desired to leave them I could not have given them a good enough outfit, nor enough ammunition and provisions and accoutrements for a fortress. And it is quite true that many of the people who are here have begged me that I would give them permission to remain. Now I have ordered a tower and fortress constructed and all in a very good manner and a large cellar, not that I believe this necessary with these people, because I consider it certain that with these people I have with me, I could subjugate all this island, which I believe is larger than Portugal and has double the people: but they are naked and without arms and cowardly beyond cure. But it is right that this tower should be built and it must be as it must be, being so far from your Highnesses and that they may know the people of your Highnesses and what they can do that they may obey them with love and fear, and thus they have blocks with which to construct the fortress and provisions of bread and wine for more than a year, and seeds for sowing, and the ship's boat and a calker, and a carpenter, and a gunner and a cooper and among them many men who desire greatly for the services of your Highnesses and to cause me pleasure, to learn of the mine where the gold is found. So that everything has happened much to the purpose that this beginning may be made. And more than all this when the ship ran aground it went so softly that it was hardly felt and there was neither wave nor wind." The Admiral says all this. And he further adds to show that it was a great good fortune and the determined will of God that the ship should run aground there that people might be left there,—that had it not been for the treachery of the Master and of the people, who were all or most of

them from his country, in not wishing to cast the anchor at the stern to draw the ship off as the Admiral ordered them to do, that the ship would have been saved; and thus the country would not have been known [he says] as it was known during those days they remained there and as it will be known by the people he intended leaving there, as he was sailing all the time with the intention of making discoveries and not remaining anywhere more than a day unless it was because there was no wind, because he says the ship was very heavy and not fitted for the purpose of discovery. And the taking of such a ship he says was due to the people of Palos, who did not fulfil what the King and Queen had promised him, that is that he should be given ships suitable for that journey, and they did not do it. The Admiral concludes by saying that of all there was in the ship not a leather strap was lost, nor a board nor a nail, because the ship remained as sound as when she started except that she was chopped and split some in order to take out the butts and all the merchandise: and they placed all these on land, well guarded, as has been told. And he says that he hopes in God when he returns from Castile, as he intends, he will find a tun of gold for which those people he is to leave will have traded, and that they will have found the Mine of gold and the spices, and all *that* in such a quantity that before three years the Sovereigns will undertake and prepare to go and conquer the Holy Sepulchre [*casa santa*]. "*Because [he says] I thus protested to your Highnesses that all the profit of this, my undertaking, should be spent in the conquest of Jerusalem, and your Highnesses smiled and said that it was pleasing to them, and that even without this, they had the inclination to do it.*"¹ These are the words of the Admiral.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 27.

At sunrise the King of that country came to the caravel and told the Admiral that he had sent for gold and that he wished to cover him all over with gold before he went away, and he begged him not to go away before. And the King ate with the Admiral, and a brother of his and another very near relative, which *two told the Admiral that they wished to go to Castile with him*. At this time news came that the caravel *Pinta* was in a river at the head of that island. Then the Cacique, who loved the Admiral so much it was wonderful, sent a canoe there in which the Admiral despatched

¹ Here the ultimate design of Columbus is revealed to us. The discovery of new lands, the gathering of gold and silver and precious stones, were all steps toward the consummation of his final plan, the conquest of Jerusalem and the restoration of Palestine to the Church. If we are to understand the character of Columbus we must read this thought, this hope, written on his heart of hearts. We hold the key to his life in this final purpose of the man. But this plan was acquiesced in by the Sovereigns. They smilingly assured him of their intention to undertake this new Crusade before he set off upon his expedition and before the new lands with their riches were laid at their feet. When, therefore, we behold this great man grovelling for gold, we must remember the high purpose to which its use was to be dedicated.

a sailor. The Admiral was already preparing with as much haste as possible for the return to Castile.¹

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 28.

In order to hasten the finishing of the construction of the fortress and to establish order among the people who were to remain there, the Admiral went on land, and it seemed to him that the King had seen him when he was going in the boat. The King entered his house quickly, dissembling, and sent one of his brothers to receive the Admiral, who conducted him to one of the houses which had been given to the Christians, and which was the largest and best in that village. In this house they had prepared a raised platform of the inner bark of the palm tree where they made the Admiral sit down. Then the brother sent one of his pages to say to the King that the Admiral was there, as though the King did not know that he had come, although the Admiral believed that he was dissembling to pay him much more honour. When the page told him, the Cacique [he says] came running to the Admiral and placed around his neck a large plate of gold which he was carrying in his hand. He remained there with the Admiral until afternoon consulting as to what he was to do.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 29

At sunrise a nephew of the King, a very young boy, of good judgment and courage [as the Admiral says] came to the ship: and as the Admiral always endeavoured to learn where the gold was found, he questioned each one, as he already understood something by signs. And in that manner, that boy told him that at a distance of four days' journeys to the east there was an island which was called *Guarionex* and others which they called *Macorix* and *Mayonic* and *Fuma* and *Cibao* and *Coroay*,² in which there was an infinite quantity of gold. The Admiral wrote down these names and a brother of the King having learned that the nephew had told this quarrelled with him, according to what the Admiral understood. Also the Admiral had understood at other times that the King was trying to keep him in ignorance of the places where the gold was found and gathered, that he might not go to trade for it and buy it elsewhere. But

¹ Under date of December 27 Las Casas recites at length the reasons of the Admiral for building a fortress and leaving people there, and says that the King ordered his people to assist the Christians, which they did with such good-will that in ten days the fortress was completed and he named it La Villa de la Navidad, because he arrived there on that day.

² Under this date in the *Historia*, in speaking of the names given the islands by the Indians, Las Casas says:

"In this it appears that the Admiral did not understand the Indians at all, because the places which they named were not islands by themselves, but provinces of this island, and lands belonging to Chiefs, and this was signified by the names: Guarionex was the great King of that Vega Real, one of the marvellous things in nature: the Indians meant to say or said that in the land and realm of Guarionex was the province of Cibao, most abundant in gold. Macorix was another province, as will appear below, though this had some gold, but little, and the other names were provinces, although there were too few or too many syllables or letters, which the Admiral could not write well as he did not understand them."

there is so much of it and in so many places on this island of Española itself [says the Admiral] that it is wonderful. Night having already come, the King sent a large mask of gold and also sent to beg of the Admiral a hand-basin and a pitcher. The Admiral believed that he asked them of him so as to order others made, and therefore he sent them to him.

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 30.

The Admiral went on land to eat, and arrived at the time when five Kings had come who were subjects of this King who was called *Guacanagari*. They all wore their crowns and were in very good state, so that the Admiral says to the Sovereigns that their Highnesses would take pleasure in seeing their manners. On reaching land, the King came to receive the Admiral and took him by the arms and conducted him to the same house where he went yesterday, where he had a raised platform and chairs in which the Admiral sat down: and then he took off his crown from his own head and placed it upon the Admiral's head, and the Admiral took from around his neck a collar of good blood-stones and very beautiful beads of fine colours, which appeared very good in all parts and placed it upon the King: and he took off a cloak of fine scarlet cloth which he had put on that day, and clothed the King with it: and he sent for some coloured buskins which he made him put on, and placed upon his finger a large silver ring because the Admiral had been told that this king had seen a silver ring which belonged to a sailor and had made many endeavours to obtain it.¹ The King was very joyful and contented and two of those Kings who were with him, came to where the Admiral was with Guarionex and brought the Admiral two large gold plaques, each bringing one. At this time an Indian arrived saying that two days ago he had left the caravel *Pinta* to the east in a harbour. The Admiral returned to the caravel and Vicente Anos,² the captain, said that he had seen rhubarb³ and that it

¹ In speaking of the gold Las Casas in the *Historia* says: "The Indians esteemed any white metal very much, and that is why they were so pleased with the gift of a silver ring."

² Vincente Yañez Pinzón, the brother of Martin Alonzo and captain of the *Niña*. Herrera says that he advanced one eighth part of the expenses of equipment, equal to half a million of maravedis. Las Casas refers to a rumour that this money was advanced by Martin Alonzo Pinzón, the eldest of the three brothers. As we have seen in the chapter on "The Equipment," there is no proof that either of the Pinzóns furnished any part of the cost of the expedition.

³ This was an error on the part of the youngest Pinzón. The plant he thought rhubarb was not the rhubarb of Arabia, one of the products for which Columbus sought and from which he might know himself to be in the land described by Marco Polo. The Venetian traveller had found this medicinal plant in the province of Sze-chuen, and before the middle of the fourteenth century it formed one of the principal objects of merchandise carried by the caravans for European consumption. The root of the word "rhubarb" is believed by some to have come from Rha, the river Volga, on whose banks there grew a species of this plant. The Chinese rhubarb was prized above all varieties of the drug, and it sold far above the price of Oriental spices. The root in a dried form was perhaps known to Columbus, but evidently both Pinzón and the Admiral were deceived in recognising the West Indian plant as true rhubarb.

was on the island of *Amiga*, which is at the entrance of the sea of *Santo Tomé*, which is six leagues from there and that he had recognised the leaves and root. They say that rhubarb sends small branches out of the ground and bears fruits which appear like green mulberries almost dry and the stalk which grows from the root is as yellow and as fine as the best colour which can be found to paint, and under the ground the root grows like a large pear.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 31.

This day he occupied himself in ordering water and wood taken in readiness for the departure for Spain, in order to give speedy information to the Sovereigns, that they might send ships to discover what remained to be discovered: because the affair already appeared so great and of such importance that it is wonderful [said the Admiral] and he says that he would have liked not to depart until he had seen all that land which extends toward the east, and had gone all along the coast in order to learn also [he says] the distance from Castile to that country so as to bring there herds of cattle and other things. But as there remained to him only one ship, it did not appear a reasonable thing to expose himself to the dangers which might occur in making discoveries. *And he complained that all that injury and inconvenience arose from the separation of the caravel Pinta.*

TUESDAY, JANUARY 1, 1493.

At midnight he despatched the boat to the island of *Amiga* to bring the rhubarb. It returned at vespers with a hamper of it. They did not bring more because they did not carry a spade to dig it. The Admiral carried what they brought to the Sovereigns as a specimen. The King of that country, he says, had sent many canoes for gold. The sailor, who had been sent with a canoe to learn of the *Pinta* returned, and they did not find her. That sailor said that at a distance of twenty leagues from there he had seen a king who wore upon his head two large plaques of gold, and when the Indians in the canoe spoke to him he took them off, and he says he saw also other persons with a great deal of gold. The Admiral believed that the King Guacanagari must have prohibited every one from selling gold to the Christians, so that it might all pass through his hands. But he had learned the places, as he said the day before yesterday, where they had gold in such a quantity that no price was attached to it. He had also learned where there were spices [as the Admiral says] of which there is a great quantity and it is worth more than pepper and "manegueta."¹

¹ This is the name Columbus gives to the allspice or pimento, and which is usually written *Malagucta*. It is the *Amomum Granum Paradisi*. Humboldt believed he recognised in the name *Malagucta* the root of the name *Molaga* or *Molucca*, given the famous Islands of Spices.

He charged those persons who were to remain there to obtain as much as they could.¹

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 2.

He went on land in the morning to take leave of the King Guacanagari and to depart in the name of the Lord: and he gave the King one of his shirts and showed him the force of the lombards and their effect. For this purpose he ordered one loaded and fired at the side of the ship which

¹ In speaking of leaving the men, Las Casas in the *Historia* says:

"He left to be Captain, Diego de Arana, a native of Cordova, Escribano and Alguacil with all his own power in full, as he had it from the Catholic Sovereigns. And if it should happen that he died, he named to succeed him in the charge, Pero Gutierrez, *repostero de estrados* of the King, *criado del despensero mayor*, and if it should happen that he died, Rodrigo de Escobedo was to take and exercise his office, a native of Segovia, nephew of the friar Rodrigo Perez: it must be friar Juan Perez, the one, who, above in chapter 20,* we said had been or was confessor of the Queen, who had much to do with this affair's being accepted by the Sovereigns. . . ."

Las Casas then tells of the various artisans he left and the provisions, and says when Columbus was all ready to depart he gathered them together and addressed them as follows:

"First, that they should consider the great mercies which God had given him and all of them up to that time, and the benefits He had offered them, for which they must always give Him endless thanks, and recommend themselves much to His goodness and mercy, taking care not to offend Him and placing all their hope in Him, supplicating Him also for his own return, which with His aid, he promised them to try to have as speedily as possible, by which he was confident in God that all would be very joyful. Second, he begged them and charged them and ordered them on the part of their Highnesses, to obey their Captain as himself, as he was confident of his goodness and fidelity. Third, that they should greatly respect and reverence the King Guacanagari and his Chiefs and principal men, or *nitayos*, and other inferior chiefs, and they should avoid as they would death, annoying them or tormenting them, since they had seen how much he and they owed to them, and the necessity for keeping them contented, remaining as they did in their land and under their dominion: rather they should strive and watch, by their soft and honest speech, to gain their good-will, keeping their friendship and love, so that he should find them as friendly and favourable and more so when he returned. Fourth, he ordered them and begged them earnestly, to do no injury or use any force toward any Indian, man or woman, nor take from them anything against their will; more especially, they should be on guard and avoid doing injury or using violence to the women, by which they would cause scandal and set a bad example to the Indians, and show the infamy of the Christians, of whom the Indians were certain that they came from Heaven, and were sent by the celestial virtues. . . . Fifth, he charged them not to scatter themselves or enter inland, but to remain together until he returned, and at least not to leave the land and dominion of that King and Lord who loved them so much, and had been so good and merciful to them. Sixth, he animated them to suffer their solitude and little less than exile, although they willingly chose it. . . . Seventh, he charged them that when they saw it was fitting, they should beg the King to send with them some Indians on the sea in their canoes, and some of them should go in the boat, along or up the coast to see if they could discover the mines of gold, because it appeared to him that the gold which was brought them came from the east, as the Indians indicated that it originated there, and that they should all together look for some good place to build a village, because the Admiral was not pleased with that harbour: also that all the gold they could discreetly barter for, they should barter, so that when he returned he should find much gathered. Eighth and last, he promised them to supplicate the Sovereigns to make them signal favours, which they in truth merited, and which they would see fulfilled when they were rewarded by the Catholic Sovereigns, and with the favour of God, by himself on his return they would be consoled. . . ."

"They very willingly offered themselves to fulfil what he had charged them with and ordered, placing in him, after God, all their hope of succour with the rewards which they were confident he would bring them from the Sovereigns for their repose and comfortable life; begging him earnestly to remember them always and that as speedily as he could, he would give them the great joy which they anticipated from his coming."

* The reference really occurs in Chapter xxxi. of the *Historia*.

was aground. This happened as the result of a conversation in regard to the Caribs, with whom they were at war, and the King saw how far the lombard shot reached, and how it passed through the side of the ship and that the shot went a long way on the sea. He also had the people from the ships make a slight skirmish with their arms, telling the Cacique not to fear the cannibals if they should come. The Admiral says he did all this that the King might consider the Christians he was leaving as friends and also that he might fear them. The King conducted the Admiral and the other Christians who were with him to the house where he was lodged to eat with him. The Admiral many times charged Diego de Arana and Pedro Gutierrez and Rodrigo Escovedo, whom he was leaving as his joint lieutenants over the people who were to remain there, to see that everything was well ruled and governed for the service of God and their Highnesses. The Cacique manifested much love for the Admiral and great feeling over his departure, especially when he saw them go to embark. A favourite of that King told the Admiral that he had ordered a statue of pure gold made as large as the Admiral himself and that at the end of ten days they were to bring it to him. The Admiral embarked with the intention of departing then, but the wind would not allow him to do so.

He left on that island of *Española*, which the Indians say they called *Bohio*, thirty-nine men¹ in the fortress, whom he says were very friendly with that King Guacanagari; and in command of these men as his lieutenants, Diego de Arana, native of Cordova and Pedro Gutierrez, "reposterero de estrado" of the King, "criado del despensero mayor," and Rodrigo de Escovedo, native of Segovia, nephew of friar Rodrigo Perez, giving them all the powers which he had received from the Sovereigns. He left them all the merchandise which the Sovereigns had ordered purchased for trading, of which there was a large quantity, so that they might trade and barter it for gold, together with everything which the foundered ship carried. He also left them biscuit sufficient for a year and wine and much *artillery*: and the ship's boat in order that they, as they were most of them sailors, could go to discover the mine of gold when they should see that the time was favourable: so that the Admiral on his return might find much gold and a place to found a village that harbour not being to his liking: especially as the gold which was brought there he says came from the east and the more they went to the east, so much nearer were they to Spain. He also left them seeds for sowing and his officials, escribano and alguacil, and among the others a ship's carpenter and calker, and a good gunner who knows a great deal about engines, and a cooper and a physician and a tailor, and all, he says, are seamen.

¹ The Admiral does not include in this number the three officers, Diego de Arana, brother of his friend Beatriz Enriquez de Arana, Pedro Gutierrez, the lad who stood with Columbus on the deck of his vessel that eventful night of October 11, 1492, when he saw the moving light, and Rodrigo de Escovedo, the nephew of the good priest of La Rabida, Father Juan Perez, whose visit to Queen Isabella in December, 1492, more than any other one influence, brought to the aid of his project the Crown of Castile. With those three added, the total number was forty-two.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 3.

He did not leave to-day because at night he says that *three of the Indians he had taken from the islands and who had remained on land, came and told him that the other Indians and their wives were coming at sunrise.*¹ The sea was also somewhat changed and the boat could not go to land. He determined to depart the next day, the grace of God permitting. He said that if he had had the caravel *Pinta* with him he would have been certain to obtain a cask of gold, because he would have dared to follow the coasts of these islands, which he did not dare to do because of being alone: as he did not wish anything inconvenient to happen to him and prevent his returning to Castile and informing the Sovereigns of all the things which he had found. And *if he were certain that the caravel Pinta would reach Spain in safety with that Martin Alonso Pinzón, he said that he would not relinquish doing what he desired.* But as he did not know about it, and as Pinzón in going would be able to tell falsehoods to the Sovereigns, to avoid the punishment which he merited for doing so much harm in going away without permission and preventing all the good which might have been done and learned at that time, the Admiral says he felt confident that our Lord would give him good weather and everything would be remedied.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 4.

At sunrise he weighed the anchors in a light wind and the boat went ahead on a course to the north-west to get outside of the bank, by another channel wider than that by which he entered. This channel and others are very suitable to go to the *Villa de la Navidad*² and in all that channel the least depth was three fathoms up to nine fathoms, and these two channels extended from north-west to south-east along the banks which extend from *Cabo Santo* to *Cabo de Sierpe*, which is more than six leagues and out into the sea a good three leagues, and beyond *Cabo Santo* a good three: and a league beyond *Cabo Santo* the water is not more than eight fathoms in depth and inside the said cape to the east there are many shoals and channels to enter among them, and all that coast extends north-west and south-east and is all a beach, and the land is very level for a distance of four leagues inland. Then there are very high mountains, and it is all well settled with large villages and good people, as had been shown to the Christians. He navigated thus to the east toward a very high mountain, which appears like an island but is not, because it connects with some very low land, which is shaped like a very beautiful "pavilion." He named this mountain *Monte-Cristi* and it is exactly east of *Cabo Santo*

¹ In speaking of the Indians who went with the Admiral, Las Casas says:

"I did not know how many he took from this island, but I believe he took some, and in all he took to Castile ten or twelve Indians, according to what the Portuguese history relates, and I saw them in Seville, although I did not look nor remember to have counted them."

² This name was bestowed upon the fort and settlement by the Admiral because it was on Christmas Day that they arrived at the place, the day of the Nativity of our Lord.

at a distance of about eighteen leagues. That day as there was a very light wind he was only able to arrive within six leagues of *Monte-Cristi*. He found four very low small sandy islets with a reef which projected well out to the north-west and extended well to the south-east. Inside there is a large gulf which extends from the said mountain to the south-east a good twenty leagues, which must all be very shallow and have many banks: and inside the gulf along all that coast there are many rivers which are not navigable although that sailor whom the Admiral sent with the canoe to learn news of the *Pinta*, said that he saw a river in which ships could enter. The Admiral anchored there at a distance of six leagues from *Monte-Cristi* in nineteen fathoms of water, having occasionally put out to sea to avoid the many shoals and banks which were found there, and he remained there all night. The Admiral says that whoever is obliged to go to the *Villa de la Navidad* must take his bearing from *Monte-Cristi* at a distance of two leagues on the sea, etc., but as the land is already known and that lying near there, he does not give all the details here. He concludes that Cipango¹ was on that island and that there is a great deal of gold and a great quantity of spices and mastic and rhubarb.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 5.

As the sun was about to rise he made sail with a land breeze. Then it blew from the east and he saw that to the south-south-east of *Monte-Cristi*, between it and a small island, there appeared to be a good harbour to anchor this night and he took the course to the east-south-east and then to the south-south-east to within six leagues of the mountain: and having gone the six leagues he found the water seventeen fathoms in depth and very clear, and he went three leagues thus with the same depth. Then it was only twelve fathoms as far as the head of the mountain and beyond the head of the mountain at a distance of a league he found it nine, and clear, the bottom being all fine sand. He followed the route thus until he entered between the mountain and the small island² where he found a

¹ Under date of January 5 Las Casas in the *Historia* alludes to this:

"It appears that in making conjectures the day before,—I do not know for what occasion—he said decidedly that Cipango was on this island and he imagined it to be the Cipango which he was carrying on the chart or map which Paul, the Physician, had sent him, of which we have many times made mention. But in any event this land was Cibao which he also desired to see."

Thus we find Las Casas representing the Admiral as he turns his face away from the first settlement again asserting that he was on the island of Cipango. Listen to the words of Toscanelli:

"For that island [*Cipango*] abounds in gold, pearls and precious stones, and they cover the temples and palaces with solid gold."

How could the Admiral imagine himself on this famed island when he saw no signs of civilisation, little gold, no pearls, never a temple or palace? Naked people do not live in the neighbourhood of temples or palaces. Before man builds a home for his god he clothes himself and fashions a house to cover his own head. A single temple, the glory of a single palace would have its influence like a lively leaven, throughout such an island as *Española*, and no traveller could fail to read its progress and cultivation.

² The island of Cabra.

depth of three and one-half fathoms at low tide, a very remarkable harbour where he anchored.¹ He went with the boat to the small island where he found fire and signs that fishermen had been there. He saw there many stones tinted in colours, or a quarry of such stones, very beautiful and formed naturally [he says], so that they would be suitable for church edifices and other royal works, being like those he found on the island of San Salvador. He also found on this small island many trunks of mastic trees. He says that this *Monte-Cristi* is very beautiful and high and accessible, and of very pretty shape: and all the country near it is low, forming a very pretty field, and it is so high that on seeing it from a distance it appears like an island which does not communicate with any land. Beyond the said mountain to the east at a distance of twenty-four miles he saw a cape which he called *Cabo del Beccerro*²: from this cape as far as the said mountain for a distance of two leagues a line of shoals appears in the sea, although it seemed to him that there were channels between them by which one could enter: but it is necessary to try it in the day-time and the boat must first make soundings. To the east from the said mountain toward the Cape of *Beccerro* the four leagues are all a beach and the land is very low and beautiful, and the other is all a very high land with large mountains cultivated and beautiful: and a chain of mountains extends inland from the north-east to the south-east,³ the most beautiful that he had seen, as it appears exactly like the sierra of Cordova. Other very high mountains also appear very far toward the south and south-east and very large valleys very green and beautiful, and many rivers of water. All this is in such quantity and so pleasant that the Admiral said he did not believe he exaggerated it by the thousandth part. Then he saw to the east of the said mountain a country which appeared like another mountain, similar to *Monte-Cristi* in size and beauty. Then in the quarter of the east to the north-east the land is not as high, and must be about one hundred miles in extent.

SUNDAY, JANUARY 6.

That harbour is sheltered from all the winds except the north and north-west winds, and he says that they prevail very little in that country and refuge can be obtained from even these winds behind the small island: the water is from three to four fathoms in depth. After sunrise he made sail to go forward along the coast all of which extends to the east, but it is necessary to look out for many reefs of rock and sand which are on the said coast. It is true that inside them there are good harbours and good entrances through their channels. After mid-day the wind blew strongly from the east and he ordered a sailor to ascend to the top of the mast

¹ The Bay of Monte-Cristi.

² The Cape Rucia.

³ This chain of mountains of Monte-Cristi runs from the north-north-west to the east-south-east, and it is evident Las Casas has failed to copy the exact language of the Admiral.

to look for shoals, and he saw the caravel *Pinta* coming from the east and she came up to the Admiral: and as there was no place to anchor on account of shallow water, the Admiral returned to *Monte-Cristi*, going back ten leagues which he had sailed, and the *Pinta* went with him. Martin Alonso Pinzón came to the caravel *Niña* upon which was the Admiral, to excuse himself, saying that he had separated from him against his will, and giving reasons for it: but the Admiral says that they were all false and that Martin Alonso Pinzón had acted with much pride and covetousness that night when he went away and left him: and that he did not know [says the Admiral] from whence had come the haughty actions and dishonesty he had shown toward himself on that voyage. But the Admiral wished to dissemble these actions in order not to give place to the bad deeds of Satan who wished to hinder that voyage, as he had done up to that time.¹ An Indian from among those whom the Admiral had recommended to Martin Alonso Pinzón with others who were on his caravel, had told Pinzón that on an island which was called *Banque* there was a great deal of gold, and as his ship was light and a good sailer, he wished to withdraw and go by himself, leaving the Admiral. But the Admiral wished to delay and coast along the island of *Juana* and the island of *Española*, since it was all on a course from the east. After Martin Alonso went to the island of *Banque* he says that he found no gold, and he came to the coast of *Española* because of information from other Indians who told him that there was on that island of *Española* which the Indians called *Bohio*, a great quantity of gold and many mines: and through this cause he arrived near the *Villa de la Navidad*, within fifteen leagues, and it was then more than twenty days ago. From this it appeared that the news given by the Indians was true on account of which the King Guacanagari sent the canoe, when the Admiral despatched a sailor, and that the *Niña* must have been gone when the canoe arrived. And the Admiral says here that the caravel traded for a great deal of gold, and that for the end

¹ Las Casas in the *Historia* speaks of the Pinzóns as being rich and important men, and says they were doubtless presumptuous and brave, as riches elevate the minds and make the souls of men ambitious. He says, as the Admiral was a foreigner and alone they did him many injuries on that voyage, and after the return to Castile published many things which were not true. He then goes on and refers to the Fiscal, and speaks of the false testimony given, and sums it up by saying that he has spoken of all these things that the truth may be known and that the honour and glory may not be usurped by others to whom it does not belong, and because he (Las Casas) "was always displeased by the persecutions I saw and understood which were unjustly moved against this man, to whom the world owes so much."

The testimony of Las Casas to the persecution of the Admiral, to the injuries he suffered at the hands of the Pinzóns, to the false witnesses on the occasion of the great trial before the Fiscal, and the acknowledgment of Columbus as the one to whom the world owes so much, is most important, for Las Casas speaks always the truth. He never could bring himself to forgive Columbus for having been a link in the chain which was finally shackled about the Indians, but in his heart he knew that the Admiral was only an unconscious agent in the events which culminated in the cruelties. No one who reads his address to the forty-two men left behind in *La Navidad* can accuse Christopher Columbus of proposing or permitting any offence to the Indians.

of a strap they were given good pieces of gold the size of two fingers, and at times as large as the hand, and Martin Alonso took the half and divided the other half among his people. The Admiral says further to the Sovereigns: "So that, Lords and Princes I know that our Lord miraculously ordered that the ship should remain there because it was the best place on all the island to make the settlement and is near to the mines of gold." He also says that he learned that behind the island of *Juana* to the south, there is another large island¹ on which there is a larger quantity of gold than there is on this one, so that they find pieces of it larger than beans and on the island of *Española* pieces of gold were taken from the mines as large as kernels of wheat. That island, he says, was called *Yamaye*. He also says that he learned that yonder toward the east there was an island where there were only women, and he says that he learned this from many persons. And that the island of *Española* or the other island of *Yamaye* were near the mainland distant ten days' journeys in canoes, which might be sixty or seventy leagues, and that the people were clothed there.

MONDAY, JANUARY 7.

This day he caused the caravel, which was leaking, to be pumped out and calked and the sailors went on land to bring wood, and he says that they found a great quantity of mastic and aloes.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 8.

On account of the strong east and south-east wind which blew he did not start this day, so he ordered the caravel supplied with water and wood and everything necessary for all the voyage; because, although he was desirous of coasting all along the coast of *Española* which he could have done going on his course, yet as those he had placed on the caravels for captains were brothers, that is to say Martin Alonso Pinzón and Vicente Anes, and those who followed them were haughty and covetous and did not regard the honour which the Admiral had shown them and had not obeyed and did not obey his commands, but rather had done and said many unmerited things in opposition to him, and as Martin Alonso had left him from November 21 to January 6 without cause or reason but from disobedience: and all this the Admiral had suffered in silence, in order to finish his voyage successfully: on account of all this, in order to get out of such bad company, with whom he says it was necessary to dissemble, although they were a disobedient people, and although he says he had with him many good men yet it was not the time to occupy himself with matters of punishment,—he decided to return with the greatest possible haste and not stop longer. He entered the boat and went to the river which is near there,² a long league from *Monte-Cristi* toward the south-south-west,

¹ Jamaica is here mentioned for the first time, and its Indian name *Yamaye* has been fairly well preserved.

² This is the river *Yagui*, called below *El Río del Oro*, the River of Gold.

where the sailors were going to take water for the ship, and he found that the sand at the mouth of the river which is very wide and deep, was, as he says, all full of gold in such quantity that it was wonderful, although it was in very small grains. The Admiral believed that in coming down that river it crumbled into small pieces on the way, although he says that in a short space he found many grains as large as lentils: but of the very smallest grains he says there was a great quantity. And as the sea was calm and the salt water entered with the fresh water, he ordered the boat to ascend the river a stone's throw. They filled the barrels from the boat and returning to the caravel they found caught in the hoops of the barrels little pieces of gold and the same in the hoops of the casks. The Admiral named the river *El Rio del Oro*, which is very deep inside the entrance, although the entrance is shallow and the mouth very wide, and it is seventeen ¹ leagues from the river to the village of Navidad. There are many other large rivers between; three in especial, which he believed must have much more gold in them than that one, because they are larger ² although this one is almost as large as the Guadalquivir by Cordova: and from these rivers to the mines of gold it is not twenty ³ leagues. The Admiral says further that he would not take the said sand which contained so much gold, since their Highnesses had it all in their possession and at the door of their village of La Navidad; but that he wished to come at full speed to bring them the news, and to rid himself of the bad company which he had, and that he had always said they were a disobedient people.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 9.

At midnight he raised the sails with the wind south-east and navigated to the east-north-east: he arrived at a point which he called *Punta Roja* ⁴ which is exactly to the east of the *Monte-Cristi* a distance of sixty miles, and in the shelter of this point he anchored in the afternoon, three hours before nightfall. He did not dare to go out from there in the night as there were many reefs, until they were investigated because afterward they would be useful if they had, as they must have, channels, and the water inside is very deep and forms a secure anchorage from all winds. These lands from *Monte-Cristi* as far as the place where he was anchored are high and smooth lands and are very pretty fields and back of them there are

¹ The distance is not correctly given here. Ober, who has been over this coast carefully for the particular purpose of identifying the various places named by Columbus, gives the distance as eight leagues, which is the correction first made by Navarrete.

² The river *Yaqui* appears to be the largest in that region.

³ Las Casas remarks, as correcting the Admiral's estimation of the distance: "It is not more than four leagues from these rivers to the mines."

⁴ This is Point Isabella, and near it the Admiral, as we shall see, cast his anchors for the night. It is at this place, at the close of the same year and on his second voyage, that Columbus built the city of Isabella. The distance from *Monte-Christi* is exaggerated, being forty-two Italian miles instead of sixty.

very beautiful mountains which extend from east to west, and are all cultivated and green, so that it is a wonderful thing to see their beauty, and they have many rivers of water. In all this land there are many tortoises, of which the sailors took a great many which came on land to lay their eggs, on *Monte-Cristi*, and they were very large like a great wooden shield. The day before this when the Admiral was going to the *Rio del Oro*, he said he saw three sirens which came up very high out of the sea: but they were not as beautiful as they are painted,¹ as in some ways they are formed like a man in the face. He said that at other times he saw some in Guinea on the coast of Manegueta. He says that this night in the name of our Lord he will start on his journey without delaying himself further for any matter, since he had found what he had sought, and as he did not wish to have more trouble with that Martin Alonso until their Highnesses learned the news of the voyage and what he has done. "And then [he says] I will not suffer the bad deeds of persons without virtue, who, with little respect, presume to carry out their own wills in opposition to those who did them honour."

THURSDAY, JANUARY 10.

He started from the place where he had anchored and at sunset he reached a river ² which he named *Rio de Gracia*. It is distant three leagues to the south-east. He anchored at its mouth on the eastern side, which is a good place to anchor. On going inside, a bank is found which has but two fathoms of water and is very narrow. Within there is a good sheltered harbour, but there are a great many ship-worms ³: and the caravel *Pinta* upon which was Martin Alonso, suffered very severely from them there because he says Martin Alonso remained there trading for sixteen days, and they traded for a great quantity of gold, which was what Martin Alonso desired. Martin Alonso, after he learned from the Indians that the Admiral was on the coast of the island of Española itself and that he could not avoid him, came to find him. And he says that Martin Alonso would have liked to have all the people on the ship swear that he had been there only six days. But he says that his wickedness was so public that he

¹ This animal is supposed to be the manatee or sea-cow. It gets its name from the hand-like use it makes of its fore limbs. The naturalists call the order to which it is assigned, *Sirenia*, thus perpetuating the impression Columbus received. They are found on the African coast between 16° north and 10° south latitude, as well as in the interior. Columbus declared he had seen these on the coast of Malagueta or Manegueta.

² This is a river which Las Casas says was called after Martin Alonso Pinzón, and Navarrete identifies it as the river Chuzona Chico, three leagues and a half from the Puerto de Plata. It received its name probably from the circumstance related in the text that Martin Alonso had remained there sixteen days trading with the Indians.

³ These ship-worms, the teredo, have been the pest of navigators in those waters. They have in their heads two small shells or valves through which they work their destruction. The insect is from a few inches to three feet in length. This insect is known in some form in almost all seas.

could not hide it. The Admiral says, that Martin Alonso had made rules that half of the gold which was traded for or obtained should be for himself. And when he had to leave that place he took *four Indian men and two young girls by force, whom the Admiral ordered given clothing and that they should be returned to their country that they might go to their houses.* "Which [says the Admiral] is for the service of your Highnesses, because men and women all belong to your Highnesses on this island especially as well as on the other islands. But here where your Highnesses already have a settlement honour and favour must be shown to the people, since there is so much gold on this island and such good lands and so much spice."

FRIDAY, JANUARY 11.

At midnight he went out from the *Rio de Gracia* with a land breeze, and navigated to the east as far as a cape which he called *Belprado*, a distance of four leagues: and from there to the south-east is the mountain which he called *Monte de Plata*,¹ and he says it is a distance of eight leagues. Eighteen leagues from the cape of *Belprado* to the east, quarter south-east is the cape which is called *Angel*; and extending from this cape to the *Monte de Plata* there is a gulf² and the best and most beautiful countries in the world, all high and beautiful fields, which extend a long distance inland, and beyond, there is a chain of mountains which extend from east to west, very high and beautiful; and at the foot of the mountain there is a very good harbour, and it is fourteen fathoms deep at the entrance and this mountain is very high and beautiful, and it is all well populated, and the Admiral believed it must have contained good rivers and much gold. Four leagues from the cape *Angel* to the east, quarter south-east there is a point which he named *Hierro*³; and four leagues farther in the same direction there is a point which he named *Punta Seca*; and from there six leagues in the same direction is the Cape which he called *Redondo*⁴; and from there to the east is the *Cabo Frances* and in this cape on the east there is a large bay but it did not appear to him to have anchorage. A league from there is the *Cabo del Buen Tiempo*: a long league from here to the south quarter south-east there is a cape which he called *Tajado*; toward the south from this cape he saw another cape and it appeared to him to be a distance of fifteen leagues. He made great head way to-day because the winds and the currents were favourable to him. He did not dare to anchor for fear of the shoals, and therefore he lay off and on all night.

¹ Las Casas remarks that the mountain was called *Monte de Plata* because its summit is always surrounded by a fog which gives it a white or silvery appearance. He also says that the harbour which lies at its foot takes from it its name and is called *Puerto de Plata*.

² This is the harbour *Puerto de Plata*, the sea-port of Santiago.

³ Point Marcuris. Under this date in the *Historia*, in speaking of the capes named by the Admiral, Las Casas says that "of all these names none remains to-day."

⁴ *Cap de la Roca*.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 12.

At the quarter of the dawn he navigated to the east with a fresh wind, and went in that way all day and made twenty miles, and in two hours after that he went about twenty-four miles. From there he saw land¹ to the south, and he went toward it and it was at a distance of about forty-eight miles and he says that after having made the ship secure he went this night twenty-eight miles to the north-north-east. When he saw the land he named a cape which he saw the *Cabo de Padre é Hijo*,² because at the eastern point it has two small rocky points, one larger than the other.³ Then two leagues to the east he saw a large and very beautiful inlet between two large mountains, and he saw that it was a very large harbour, good and with a very fair entrance: but as it was very early in the morning and in order not to lose time because for the greater part of the time the wind there blows from the east and one is then carried north-north-west, he would not delay longer. He continued his course to the east as far as a very high and beautiful cape all of jagged rock, which he named *Cabo del Enamorado* [Lover's Cape]; this cape was thirty-two miles to the east of that harbour, which he named *Puerto Sacro*; and on reaching this cape he discovered another much more beautiful and higher and more rounding, all of rock like the Cabo de San Vicente in Portugal, and it was twelve miles to the east of the *Enamorado*. After he arrived off *Enamorado* he saw that there was a very large bay between it and the other cape which was three leagues wide, and in the middle of it an exceedingly small island. It is quite deep from the entrance as far as the land. He anchored there in twelve fathoms of water and sent the boat on land for water and to see if they could have speech with the people, but they all fled. He anchored to see also if all that land was one with Española; and what he called a gulf he suspected might be another island by itself. He was astonished to find that the island of Española was so large.

SUNDAY, JANUARY 13.

He did not go out of this harbour on account of there not being a breeze from land so he could get out. He would have liked to have gone out in order to go to another better harbour, because that harbour was somewhat exposed, and because he wished to observe the conjunction of the moon with the sun which he expected to take place the 17th of this month, and the opposition of the moon with Jupiter and conjunction with Mercury, and the sun in opposition with Jupiter,⁴ which is the cause of great winds.

¹ Navarrete identifies this as the isle of Samana.

² Cape of Father and Son.

³ Navarrete thinks this other isle was *Yazuel*. He also identifies the *Cabo del Enamorado*, or Lover's Cape, with the Cape Cabron; *Puerto Sacro* with *Yaqueron*; the round rocky cape near by with *Cap Samana*; the very large bay that of *Samana*, and the very little island the *Cayo de Levantados*.

⁴ Here in the *Historia* occurs a most remarkable passage, and which would suggest that Las Casas had the assistance of another hand in making the abridged copy

He sent the boat to land on a beautiful beach that the sailors might get "ajes" to eat and they found certain men with bows and arrows with whom they stopped to talk and they bought two bows and many arrows from them, and begged one of them to go and speak with the Admiral on the caravel: and he came and the Admiral says that he was very much more ugly in the face than the other Indians they had seen: his face was all smutted with charcoal although everywhere the Indians were accustomed to stain themselves different colours.¹ He wore his hair very long and drawn back and tied behind and afterward placed in a "rebecilla" of parrots' feathers, and he was naked like the others. The Admiral judged that he must have been one of the Caribs² who eat men and that the gulf which he had seen yesterday divided the land and that this was an island by itself.³ The Admiral asked him about the Caribs and he made signs to the east, near there, which the Admiral says he saw yesterday before he entered that bay: and the Indian told him that there was a great deal of gold in that country, pointing out the poop of the caravel which was very large and indicating that there were pieces as large as that. He called gold *tuob* and did not understand it by *caona* as it was called in the first part of the island nor by *nozay* as it is called in *San Salvador* and in the other islands. On Española they call copper or a base quality of gold *tuob*. That Indian told of the island of *Matinino*⁴ and said that it was all settled by women without men and on it there was a great deal of *tuob* which is gold or copper, and that it is farther to the

of the *Journal*. Or it may be that at that time, the year 1542, he was depending not on the original holograph *Journal*, but on a copy which he had caused to be made.

"... aunque creo que la letra está en esto corrupta, por el vicio del que aquesto trasladó del libro de la navegacion del Almirante, al ménos, coligese de aquí tener el Almirante perçia de Astrología, que es ciencia que de los movimientos y cursos de los cielos, estrellas y planetas trata."

"... although I believe that the writing is wrong in this, through the error of the one who transcribed it from the book of navigation of the Admiral, at least, it may be deduced from here that the Admiral had a knowledge of Astrology, which is the science which treats of the movements and courses of the heavens, stars and planets."

¹ In speaking of the Indians whom the Admiral thought were blackened with charcoal, Las Casas in the *Historia* says: "It was not charcoal, but from a certain fruit they had."

² In speaking of the Admiral's thinking they were Caribs who ate men, Las Casas goes on and says:

"... but it was not so, because there never were any on this island."

³ Las Casas says:

"It must be known here, that a great piece of this coast, much more than 25 or 30 leagues, and a good 15 and even 20 wide as far as the mountain ranges, which composes the northern part and which includes the great vega, was populated by a people called 'mazoriges' and others 'cyguayos,' and they had different languages from the universal language on all the island. I do not remember whether these differed in language, as it has been so many years, and there is no one to-day to ask, although I conversed many times with both generations, and fifty years have already passed: this at least I know certainly, that the 'cyguayos' where the Admiral now was, were called 'cyguayos' because they wore their hair very long, as the women do in our Castile."

The reader will be able from this allusion to fifty years having passed to fix the period at which Las Casas was then writing his *Historia* as about the year 1542.

⁴ This island, of which we shall often hear, we take to be Martinique.

east of *Carib*. He also told of the island of *Goanin*¹ where there is a great deal of *tuob*. The Admiral says that he had been told of these islands by many persons some days before. The Admiral says further that in the islands they had passed the inhabitants were in great fear of the *Carib* and in some they called it *Caniba*, but in *Española* they called it *Carib*. And that they must be a very bold people since they go to all the islands and eat the people they are able to capture. He says that he understood some words and by this he says that he learned other things, and that the Indians he had with him understood more, although he found the languages different on account of the great distances of the lands from each other. He ordered that the Indian should be given something to eat and he gave him pieces of green and red cloth and very small glass beads which they like very much, and he sent him to land again and told him to bring gold if he had it which he suspected on account of some little things which he wore. As the boat reached land there were behind the trees fully fifty-five men, naked and wearing their hair very long² as the women wear it in Castile. On the back part of their heads they wore head-dresses of the plumes of parrots and other birds, and each one carried his bow. The Indian in the boat went on land and made the others lay aside their bows and arrows and a piece of stick which is like a [lacuna] very heavy, which they carry³ in place of a sword. These Indians then came to the boat and the people from the boat landed and began to buy the bows and arrows and the other arms, because the Admiral had ordered them to do so. Having sold two bows they did not wish to give any more, but rather they prepared to attack the Christians and capture them. They went running to get their bows and arrows where they had laid them aside, and returned with cords in their hands, he says, to bind the Christians. On seeing them come running toward them the Christians, who were ready [as the Admiral always advised them to be on guard], attacked the Indians⁴ and gave one of them a great cut in the buttock and wounded another on the breast with an arrow. When they saw that they were able to gain little although the Christians were only seven and they were fifty and over, they took to flight until not one remained, one leaving his arrows here and another his bow there. The Admiral says that the Christians would have killed many of them if the pilot who went as captain of them

¹ Las Casas here remarks that the *Goanin* was not an island in his opinion, but the name of an inferior quality of gold which had a peculiar odour much esteemed by the Indians. It is a singular fact that the Indians thought more of brass than of gold, and on every opportunity seemed to enjoy the smell of that baser metal.

² In speaking of these people Las Casas says that he believes they were the "Cyguayos" on the northern coast of *Española*, from the Puerto de Plata to Higüey.

³ Las Casas says that these are called by the Indians "macana," and are made of the wood of the palm, which is very hard, and they are four palms long.

⁴ This is the first instance since the Europeans and Indians met of any hostile proceedings, and the first instance where an Indian was injured by a white man. This occurrence took place in the Bay of Samana.

had not prevented it. The Christians then returned to the caravel with their boat and the Admiral having learned of the affair, said that in one way it troubled him and in another it did not, that they might be afraid of the Christians; because without doubt [he says] the people in that place do evil, and he believed they were from the island of Carib, and that they eat men: and if the boat which he left with thirty-nine men in the fortress and *Villa de la Navidad* comes to that place, they may be afraid to do them any harm. And if they did not belong to the Caribs at least they must be inhabitants of lands fronting them and they have the same customs and must be a people free from fear, not like the others on the other islands who are cowards and without arms, except reason [*fuera de razon*]. The Admiral says all this and that he wished to take some of them. He says that they made many fires according to the custom on that island of *Española*.

MONDAY, JANUARY 14.

He would have liked to send this night to search for the houses of those Indians to take some of them, believing that they were Caribs, and was prevented by the strong east and north-east wind which blew and by the high sea: but when day came, they saw many Indians on land. The Admiral ordered the boat to go to land with people well prepared, and the Indians then all came to the stern of the boat and especially the Indian who the day before had come to the caravel, and to whom the Admiral had given the articles of barter. With this Indian, he says there came a King who had given the said Indian some beads [*cuentas*] to give to the people in the boat in sign of security and peace. This King with three of his people entered the boat and came to the caravel. The Admiral ordered that honey and biscuit should be given them to eat and he gave the King a red cap and beads and a piece of red cloth and to the others also pieces of cloth, and the King said that to morrow he would bring a gold mask, saying that there was a great deal of gold there in *Carib* and *Matinino*. Then the Admiral sent them to land well pleased. The Admiral says further, that the caravels were leaking badly at the keel and he complains a great deal of the calkers who calked them very badly in Palos and says that when they saw that the Admiral had noticed their poor work, and desired to constrain them to mend it, they fled. But notwithstanding the great quantity of water which the caravels were taking, he confides in our Lord who brought him there to lead him back in His pity and mercy, for his High Majesty well knew how much controversy he had before he was able to start from Castile as no other was favourable to him except God because He knew his heart, and after God their Highnesses favoured him, and all the others had opposed him without any reason whatever. And he says further as follows: "And they have been the cause that the Royal Crown of your Highnesses does not possess one hundred millions more revenue than it has, since I came to serve them, which is now seven years

ago, the 20th day of January this very month ¹ and furthermore the accumulation which would have been the natural increase. But that powerful God will remedy everything." These are his words.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 15.

He says that he wishes to depart because nothing is gained by remaining here now on account of the disagreements which have taken place. He must mean the trouble with the Indians. He says also that to-day he has learned that all the bulk of the gold was in the vicinity of the *Villa de la Navidad* of their Highnesses, and that on the island of *Carib* ² there was a great deal of copper and in *Matinino*, although it would be difficult to obtain it in *Carib* because he says the people eat human flesh: and he says the island of the *Caribs* appeared from where he was and that he had determined to go there, since it is on his course and to the island of *Matinino* which he says was all inhabited by women without men, and he says he wished to see both these islands and to take some of the inhabitants. The Admiral sent the boat to land and the king of that country had not come because he says the village was a long way off, but he sent his crown of gold as he had promised and many other men came with cotton and with bread and "ajes," all with their bows and arrows. After they had traded everything with the Indians he says there came four youths to the caravel and they appeared to the Admiral to give such good account of all those islands which lay toward the east on the same course that the Admiral had to follow, that he determined to take them to Castile with him. He says they had no iron or other metal there which could be seen, although in a few days much cannot be learned in regard to a country both on account of the difficulty of the language which he understood only by intuition and as the Indians did not learn what was asked of them in a short time. The bows of these people he says were as large as those of France and England: the arrows are just the same as the spears of the other peoples he had seen up to that time, which are made from the stalks of the canes when they go to seed, which are very straight and a yard and a half or two yards long, and then they put in the end a piece of sharp stick, a palm and a half long, and at the end of this little stick some insert a fish's tooth and most of them place there an herb, and they do not shoot as in other places, but in a certain manner which cannot do much harm. There was a great deal of cotton there, very fine and long and there is a great deal of mastic and it appeared to him that the bows were of yew-trees and that there is gold and copper: also there is a great deal of "aji," which is their pepper, which is worth more than our pepper, and none of the people eat without it as it is found to be very salutary. Fifty caravels can be loaded with it each year on that island of Española. He says that he

¹ Thus, according to this entry in the *Journal*, Columbus entered the service of the Sovereigns, January 20, 1486.

² Navarrete calls this island of *Carib*, *Puerto Rico*.

found a great deal of grass in that bay the same as they found in the gulf when they came to make the discovery, on which account he believed there were islands to the east in a straight line from where he began to find them; because he is certain that that grass grows in shallow water near the land and he says that if it is so, these Indies were very near the islands of Canary: and for this reason he believed that they were distant less than four hundred leagues.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 16.

Three hours before day he started from the gulf which he called the *Golfo de las Flechas*,¹ with a land breeze, then with a west wind, turning his prow to the east quarter north-east, to go, he says, to the *Isla de Carib* ² where were the people whom all the inhabitants of all those islands and countries feared so greatly; because, he says, they cross all those seas in their canoes without number and he says they eat the men they are able to capture. He says one of the four Indians he had taken yesterday in the *Puerto de las Flechas* had showed him the course. After having gone, in his opinion, sixty-four miles, the Indians indicated to him that the island lay to the south-east. He wished to follow that course and ordered the sails trimmed, and after they had gone two leagues the wind again blew, very favourably to go to Spain. He noted that the people began to grow sad on account of departing from the straight course, as both caravels were taking a great deal of water and they had no help save in God. He was obliged to leave the course which he believed was taking him to the island and he returned to the direct course for Spain—north-east quarter east, and he went thus until sunset forty-four miles, which are twelve leagues. The Indians told him that on that course he would find the island of *Matinino*, which he says was inhabited by women without men, and the Admiral says he would much like to carry five or six of them to the Sovereigns. But he doubted whether the Indians knew the course well or not, and he was not able to delay on account of the danger from the water which the caravels were taking. But he says he was certain there was such an island, and that at a certain time of year the men came to these women from the said *Isla de Carib*, which he says was ten or twelve leagues from them, and if they gave birth to a boy they sent him to the island of the men and if to a girl they kept her with them. The Admiral says that those two islands could not have been distant from where he had started, fifteen or twenty leagues, and he believed they were to the south-east, and that the Indians did not know how to point out the course. After losing

¹ Las Casas declares that this is the Bay of Samana, where the river Yuna has its mouth.

² Identified by Navarrete as *Puerto Rico*. The course after leaving the Bay of Samana would not suggest this island, but the subsequent direction given by the Indians as to its lying to the south-east makes it probable that the *Isla de Carib* was our island of Puerto Rico.

from sight the cape which he called *San Theramo*,¹ on the island of Española, which lay sixteen leagues to the west, he went twelve leagues to the east, quarter north-east. Very good weather prevailed.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 17.

Yesterday at sunset the wind calmed some. He went during fourteen *ampolletas* [sand glasses], which are each a half hour or a little less, until the passing of the first quarter, at the rate of about four miles an hour, which are twenty-eight miles. Then the wind revived, and he went thus during all that quarter which are ten "ampolletas" and then another six until sunrise, at the rate of eight miles per hour, and so he went in all about eighty-four miles which are twenty-one leagues to the north-east quarter east, and until sunset he went more than forty-four miles to the east, which are eleven leagues. Here a pelican came to the caravel and then another, and he saw a great deal of grass of the kind which is in the sea.²

FRIDAY, JANUARY 18.

He navigated with little wind this night to the east quarter south-east forty miles, which are ten leagues: and then to the south-east quarter east thirty miles, which are seven and one-half leagues, until sunrise. After sunrise he navigated all day with little wind east-north-east and north-east and east more and less, turning the prow sometimes to the north and sometimes to the quarter of the north-east and to the north-north-east, and thus counting both he believed he went about sixty miles, which are fifteen leagues. Little grass appeared in the sea: but he says that yesterday and to-day the sea appeared coagulated with tunny-fish and the Admiral believed that from there they must go to the tunny-fisheries of the *Duke of Conil* and *Caliz*. A fishing-bird which is called the frigate-pelican which went around the caravel and then went away to the south-south-east, caused the Admiral to believe that there were some islands near there. And he said that the island of *Carib* and the island of *Matinino* and many other islands, lay to the east-south-east of the island of *Española*.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 19.

He went this night fifty-six miles to the north, quarter north-east, and sixty-four to the north-east, quarter north. After sunrise he navigated to the north-east with a strong wind east-south-east and then to the quarter of the North, and he went about eighty-four miles which are twenty-one leagues. He saw the sea coagulated with small tunny-fish. There were pelicans, ring-tails, and frigate-pelicans.

¹ Las Casas says:

"I believe it is certain that the Cape of Yheramo [*San Theramo*] is that which is called to-day *Cabo del Engaño*."

Navarrete identifies this as the Cape Samana.

² He was again in the vicinity of the Sargasso Sea.

SUNDAY, JANUARY 20.

The wind calmed this night and at intervals gusts of wind blew, and he went in all about twenty miles to the north-east. After sunset he went about eleven miles to the south-east, then to the north-north-east thirty-six miles which are nine leagues. He saw an infinite number of small tunny-fish. The breezes he says were very soft and sweet the same as in Seville in April or May, and the sea, he says, God be given many thanks, was very calm all the time. Frigate-pelicans and "petrels" and many other birds appeared.

* MONDAY, JANUARY 21.

Yesterday after sunset he navigated to the north quarter north-east, with the wind east and north-east. He went about eight miles an hour until midnight which would be fifty-six miles. Then he went to the north-north-east at the rate of eight miles an hour, and this would be in all the night one hundred and four miles, which are twenty-six leagues, to the quarter of the north inclining to the north-east. After sunrise he navigated to the north-north-east with the same east wind, and at times to the quarter of the north-east and he went about eighty-eight miles in eleven hours which was the duration of the day, which make twenty-one leagues, deducting one which he lost because he fell off to the leeward toward the caravel *Pinta*, to speak her. He found the winds cooler, and he expected, he says, to find them more so each day the more he went to the north, and also because the nights were longer on account of the narrowing of the sphere.¹ Many ring-tails and "petrels" appeared, and other birds; but not as many fish, [he says] because the water was colder. He saw a great deal of grass.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 22.

Yesterday after sunset he navigated to the north-north-east with the wind east and veering to the south-east. He went eight miles an hour during five "ampolletas" and during three before the watch commenced, which were eight ampolletas: and thus he must have gone seventy-two miles, which are eighteen leagues. Then he went to the quarter of the north-east to the north six ampolletas which would be another eighteen miles. Then he went during four ampolletas of the second watch to the north-east, six miles an hour, which are three leagues to the north-east. Then until sunrise he went to the east-north-east during eleven ampolletas, six leagues² an hour, which are seven leagues. Then to the east-north-east until eleven o'clock in the day, thirty-two miles. And then the wind calmed and he went no farther that day. The Indians swam. They saw ring-tails and a great deal of grass.

¹ Here Columbus is the scientist, explaining the diminishing length of the degrees in travelling from the equator to the pole.

² This is evidently another error in copying on the part of Las Casas. Each ampolleta lasted a half-hour.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 23.

This night he experienced many changes in the winds, and having been on the alert for everything and having taken the precautions which good sailors are accustomed to take and must take, he says he went this night to the north-east quarter north about eighty-four miles, which are twenty-one leagues. He waited many times for the caravel *Pinta* which was sailing badly close to the wind because the mizzen helped her little, the mast not being good: and he says that if her captain, who is Martin Alonso Pinzón, had taken as much pains to provide himself with a good mast in the Indies, where there are so many and such good ones, as he did to separate himself from him thinking to fill the ship with gold, he would have made it good. Many ring-tails appeared and much grass: the sky was all disturbed these days: but it had not rained and the sea was very calm all the time as in a river, many thanks be given to God. After sunrise he went about thirty miles for a certain part of the day straight to the north-east, which are seven leagues and a half, and then the rest of the day he went to the east-north-east another thirty miles, which are seven and a half leagues.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 24.

He went during all this night, many changes which the wind made to the north-east considered, about forty-four miles, which were eleven leagues. From sunrise until sunset, he went to the east-north-east about fourteen leagues.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 25.

He navigated this night to the east-north-east, a part of the night which were thirteen ampolletas, nine leagues and a half: then he went to the north-north-east another six miles. The sun having risen, during all the day, as the wind calmed, he went to the east-north-east about twenty-eight miles, which are seven leagues. The sailors killed a tunny-fish [*tonina*] and a very large shark and he says that they were very necessary to him because he did not then have anything to eat except bread and wine and "ajes" from the Indies.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 26.

This night he went to the east, quarter south-east, fifty-six miles, which are fourteen leagues. After sunset he navigated at times to the east-south-east and at times to the south-east; he went about forty miles up to eleven o'clock in the daytime. Then he made another tack and then went "á la relinga,"¹ and until night he went toward the north twenty-four miles, which are six leagues.

¹ "Anda á la relinga" is to navigate close to the wind.

SUNDAY, JANUARY 27.

Yesterday after sunset he went to the north-east and to the north and to the north quarter north-east, and he went about five miles an hour and in thirteen hours that would be sixty-five miles, which are sixteen and one half leagues.¹ From sunset until mid-day he went toward the north-east twenty-four miles, which are six leagues, and from that time until sunset he went about three leagues to the east-north-east.

MONDAY, JANUARY 28.

All this night he navigated to the east-north-east, and went about thirty-six miles, which are nine leagues. From sunrise until sunset he went to the east-north-east twenty miles, which are five leagues. He found the winds temperate and soft. He saw ring-tails and "petrels" and much grass.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 29.

He navigated to the east-north-east and went during the night with the wind south and south-west about thirty-nine miles, which are nine and one half leagues.² In all the day he went about eight leagues. The winds were very temperate as they are in Castile in the month of April: the sea was very calm. Fish which they call dorados came to the side of the ship.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 30.

During all this night he went seven leagues to the east-north-east. During the day he ran to the south quarter south-east, a distance of thirteen and a half leagues. He saw ring-tails and much grass and many tunny-fish [*toninas*].

THURSDAY, JANUARY 31.

He navigated this night to the north, quarter north-east a distance of thirty miles and then to the north-east thirty-five miles, which are sixteen [*sic*] leagues. From sunrise until night he went to the east-north-east thirteen and a half leagues. They saw ring-tails and petrels.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 1.

He went this night to the east-north-east a distance of sixteen leagues and a half. During the day he ran on the same course a distance of twenty nine leagues and a quarter. The sea was very calm, thanks be to God.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 2.

He went this night to the east-north-east forty miles, which are ten leagues. To-day with the same wind in the stern he ran seven miles an

¹ Really $16\frac{1}{4}$ leagues.

² Really $9\frac{3}{4}$ leagues.

hour: so that in eleven hours he went seventy-seven miles which are nineteen leagues and a quarter. The sea was very calm, thanks to God, and the winds very soft. They saw the sea so thickly covered with grasses that if they had not seen it, they would have feared it was shoals. They saw petrels.

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 3.

This night going with the wind astern and the sea very calm, thanks be to God, they went about twenty-nine leagues. The North Star appeared to him very high, the same as on the Cape San Vicente: he could not take the latitude with the astrolabe or quadrant, because the waves would not permit it. During the day he navigated on his course to the east-north-east, and went about ten miles an hour, and thus in eleven hours he went twenty-seven leagues.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 4.

This night he navigated to the east quarter north-east, part of the time twelve miles an hour and part ten miles, and thus he went one hundred and thirty miles which are thirty-two leagues and a half. The sky was very tempestuous and rainy, and it was somewhat cold, on which account [he says] he knew that he had not reached the islands of the Azores. After the sun rose, he changed his course and went to the east. He went during all the day seventy-seven miles, which are nineteen leagues and a quarter.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 5.

This night he navigated to the east and he went in all fifty-four miles, which are fourteen leagues less a half. During the day he ran ten miles an hour, and so in eleven hours he went one hundred and ten miles, which are twenty-seven leagues and a half. They saw petrels and some little sticks which was a sign that they were near land.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 6.

He navigated this night to the east, and went about eleven miles an hour: in thirteen hours of the night he went about one hundred and forty-three miles, which are thirty-five leagues and a quarter.¹ They saw many birds and petrels. During the day he ran fourteen miles an hour, and so he went during that day one hundred and fifty-four miles, which are thirty-eight leagues and a half: so that they went between day and night seventy-four leagues, a little more or less. Vicente ² Anes said that to-day in the morning the island of Flores lay to the north, and the island of Madeira to the east. Roldan said that the island of Fayal or of San Gregorio lay to the north-north-east, and Puerto Santo to the east. Much grass appeared.

¹ Really 35½ leagues.

² Vincente Yañez Pinzón.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 7.

He navigated this night to the east: he went about ten miles an hour, and so in thirteen hours he went one hundred and thirty miles, which are thirty-two leagues and a half: during the day he went eight miles an hour, in eleven hours eighty-eight miles, which are twenty-two leagues. On this morning the Admiral was seventy-five leagues to the south of the island of Flores: and the pilot Pedro Alonso going to the north, passed between Tercera and Santa Maria: and in going to the east, he passed to the windward of the island of Madeira, at a distance of twelve leagues on the north.¹ The sailors saw grass of a different kind than that they had passed, of which there is a great deal in the Azores Islands. Then they saw the same kind they had seen before.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 8.

He went this night three miles an hour to the east, for a short time, and then went to the quarter of the south-east: he went during all the night twelve leagues. From sunrise until mid-day he ran twenty-seven miles: then until sunset as many more, which are thirteen leagues to the south-south-east.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 9.

For a short time during this night he went about three leagues to the south-south-east, and then to the south, quarter south-east: then to the north-east until ten o'clock in the day a distance of another five leagues, and then until night he went nine leagues to the east.

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 10.

After sunset he navigated to the east during all the night a distance of one hundred and thirty miles, which are thirty-two leagues and a half: from sunset until night he went nine miles an hour, and thus he went in eleven hours ninety-nine miles, which are twenty-four leagues and a half and a quarter. On the caravel of the Admiral, Vicente Yañes and the two pilots Sancho Ruiz and Pedro Alonso Niño and Roldan shaped the course and they all passed much beyond the islands of the Azores to the east, according to their charts, and navigating to the north no one of them located the island of Santa Maria, which is the last of all the Azores islands: rather they would be five leagues beyond it and in the vicinity of the island of Madeira or in that of Puerto Santo. But the Admiral reckoned himself much out of his course, finding his position a long way behind that reckoned by the others, because this night the island of Flores lay to the north of him and he was going to the east toward Nafe in Africa, and he passed to the windward of the island of Madeira on the northern side [lacuna] leagues. Thus these pilots according to their reckoning were one hundred and fifty

¹ These were the reckonings of Pedro Alonzo Niño, according as he might go to the north or due east.

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leagues nearer to Castile than the Admiral. He says that the grace of God permitting, as soon as land is seen it will be known who is calculating the surest. He says here also that on the voyage west he went two hundred and sixty-three leagues from the island of Hierro before he saw the first grass.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 11.

He went on his course this night twelve miles an hour, and so in all the night he counted thirty-nine leagues, and during all the day he ran sixteen leagues and a half. He saw many birds and on this account he believed he was near land.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 12.

He navigated to the east six miles an hour during this night, and went until day a distance of seventy-three miles, which are eighteen leagues and a quarter. Here he began to encounter a high sea and tempest: and if the caravel had not been very good and well equipped, he says he would have feared to be lost. During the day he ran about eleven or twelve leagues with much difficulty and danger.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 13.

From sunset until day he experienced great difficulty from the wind and from the high and stormy sea: it lightened toward the north-north-east three times, which he said was a sign that a great tempest was to come from that direction or from the direction contrary to his course. He went under bare masts most of the night: then he raised a little sail and went about fifty-two miles, which are thirteen leagues. This day the wind abated a little; but then it increased, and the sea became terrible and the waves crossed each other which racked the ships. He went about fifty-five miles, which are thirteen and a half leagues.¹

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 14.

This night the wind increased and the waves were frightful, coming in contrary directions. They crossed and obstructed the ship which could not go forward or get out from between them and they broke on her: he carried the "papahigo"² very low simply that it might keep him above the waves: he went in this way during three hours, and made about twenty miles. The wind and the sea increased greatly: and seeing the great danger he began to run before the wind, where the wind took him, because there was no other remedy. Then the caravel *Pinta*, on which was Martin Alonso, commenced to run also, and disappeared, although all the night the Admiral showed lights and the other ship responded; until it appeared

¹ Really $13\frac{1}{2}$ leagues.

² Navarrete says that the "papahigo mayor" was called the studding-sail, while the "papahigo menor" was the fore stay-sail.

that the latter was not able to do so any longer on account of the force of the tempest, and because she found herself very much out of the course of the Admiral. The Admiral went this night to the north-east, quarter east, a distance of fifty-four miles, which are thirteen leagues.¹ After sunrise the wind became stronger and the cross sea more terrible: he carried only the "papahigo" low, that the ship might get out of the waves which broke across her and not sink. He went on a course to the east-north-east and then on the quarter as far as the north-east: he went about six hours thus and during that time made seven and a half leagues. He ordered that a pilgrimage should be vowed to go to Santa Maria de Guadalupe and a wax candle weighing five pounds should be carried and that every one should vow that whoever was elected by chance should fulfil the pilgrimage. For this purpose he ordered as many peas brought as there were persons on the ship and one was marked by a knife with the sign of the cross, and they were well shaken and placed in a cap. The first to put in his hand was the Admiral and he took out the pea marked with the sign of the cross, and thus he was selected by chance, and from that time he considered himself obliged to fulfil the vow and make the pilgrimage. Lots were again drawn to make a pilgrimage to Santa Maria de Loreto,² which is in the province of Ancona, the land of the Pope, which is the house where Our Lady has performed and performs many great miracles, and chance selected a sailor from the port of Santa Maria, who was called Pedro de Villa, and the Admiral promised to give him money for the expenses of the pilgrimage. He decided that another pilgrim should be sent to watch one night in Santa Clara de Moguer and say a mass, and for this purpose lots were again drawn with the peas marked with a cross, and the choice fell to the Admiral himself. Then the Admiral and all the people made a vow that the first land they reached they would all go in their shirts in procession to pray in a church under the invocation of Our Lady.

Besides the general or common vows each one had made his vow in especial, because none of them expected to escape, all considering themselves lost through the terrible tempest they were experiencing. The danger was increased by the fact that the ship was short of ballast as the load had been lightened by the consumption of the provisions, water and wine: the Admiral had not provided these in sufficient quantity, as he hoped for the favourable weather he experienced among the islands, and

¹ Really $13\frac{1}{2}$ leagues.

² The legend of the Holy House dates from somewhere about the close of the Crusading period. The house at Nazareth in which Mary had been born and in which she lived during the childhood of Jesus and after His Ascension was said to have been converted by the Apostles into a church. When Jerusalem was threatened with destruction by the Turks in 1291 it was carried by the angels through the air and deposited on a hill at Tersatz in Dalmatia. In the year 1294 the angels carried it across the Adriatic to a wood near Recanati. The proprietress of this wood was called Laureta, and the chapel derived its name from her and was called *Sacellum Gloriosa Virginis in Laurcto*. The following year the house was again removed by the same celestial agency to its present site in Ancona, Italy.

proposed to order the ship ballasted on the islands of the *Mugercs* where he intended to go.¹ The remedy he found for this necessity was when he was able to do it, to fill the pipes which were empty of water and wine with sea-water, and by this means the evil was remedied.

The Admiral here writes the causes which made him fear that our Lord willed that he should perish in that place, and the other causes which gave him hope that God would lead him in safety, in order that such news as he was carrying to the Sovereigns might not perish. It appeared to him that the great desire he had to carry this wonderful news and to show that he had been proved truthful in what he had said and volunteered to discover, caused him to feel the greatest fear that he would not succeed in doing so, and he says that it seemed to him that each gnat could disturb and impede it. He attributed this to his little faith and lack of confidence in the Divine Providence. He was comforted on the other hand by the favours which God had shown him by giving him such a victory, in discovering what he had discovered: and God had fulfilled for him all his desires, as after he had experienced in Castile so many adversities and contradictions, everything had been brought about as he desired. And as before, he had directed his purpose to God and had conducted his enterprise for Him, and He had heard him and given him all that he had asked, it was to be believed that God would fulfil what was commenced and deliver him in safety. Especially since he had delivered him on his departure when he had greater reason to fear *on account of the difficulties he had with the sailors and people who were with him, who all with one voice determined to return and to rebel against him*, making protestations, and the eternal God gave him strength and courage against them all; and because of many other wonderful things which God had manifested in him and by him on that journey, besides those which their Highnesses knew from the persons of their house. So that [he says] he ought not to fear the said tempest. But his weakness and anxiety [he says] would not allow his mind to become reassured. He says moreover, that he also felt great anxiety on account of *the two sons whom he had in Cordova at school, as he had left them orphaned of father and mother in a foreign land*,² and the Sovereigns did not know of the services which he had rendered them on the voyage he had made and the very favourable news he was taking them, on account of which they would be moved to succour his sons. For this reason, and that their Highnesses might know how our Lord had given him the victory in everything which he desired about the Indies, and that they might know there were no tempests in those regions, which he says may be known by the fact that the grass and trees spring up and grow almost into the sea,

¹ This phrase reads in the original "*á donde lleva propósito de ir.*" It should be "*á donde llevaba [or llevó] propósito de ir.*" This allusion to the island of women — *Mugercs* — is to *Matinino*, or *Martinique*, whither the Admiral intended to go after departing from *Española*.

² We believe this passage has not been fully understood by *Las Casas*. Certainly the son of Columbus and *Beatriz Enriquez de Arana* would not have been left an entire orphan, for *Beatriz* was alive in *Cordova*.

and that if he should be lost in that tempest the Sovereigns might have information about his voyage, he took a parchment and wrote upon it all that he was able in regard to everything which he had found, earnestly beseeching whomsoever might find it to carry it to the Sovereigns. He enveloped this parchment in a waxed cloth, tied it very securely, and ordered a large wooden barrel brought, and placed the parchment in the barrel without any person knowing what it was, as they all thought it was some act of devotion, and thus he ordered it thrown into the sea. Then with showers and disturbances the wind changed to the west, and he sailed thus before the wind with only the foresail for about five hours; the sea was very rough and he went a distance of about two and a half leagues to the north-east. He had taken down the "papahigo" from the mainsail, for fear that some wave of the sea would carry it all away.¹

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 15.

Yesterday after sunset the skies commenced to clear toward the west, and indicated that the wind was about to blow from that direction. He had the bonnet² placed on the mainsail: the sea was yet very high, although it was subsiding a little. He went to the east-north-east at the rate of four miles an hour and in the thirteen hours of the night they went thirteen leagues. After sunrise they saw land: it appeared to them at the prow to the east-north-east. Some said that it was the island of Madeira, others that it was the Rock of Cintra in Portugal, near Lisbon. The wind changed and blew ahead from the east-north-east and the sea came very high from the west: the caravel must have been five leagues from land. The Admiral, according to his navigation thought himself to be off the Azores Islands, and believed that the land they saw was one of them: the pilots and sailors believed that they were already off Castile.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 16.

All this night he beat against the wind in order to gain the land, which he already recognised as an island, at times going to the north-east, at others to the north-north-east, until sunrise, when he directed his course to the south in order to reach the island which they no longer saw because of the very murky weather, and he saw at the stern another island which was distant about eight leagues. From sunrise until night he tacked about to reach land, in spite of the strong wind and high sea which it

¹ Las Casas in the *Historia* under date of February 14, when he is talking of the tempests encountered by the Admiral at that time, mentions the fact that when the Admiral went out on his voyage he experienced no tempests and not even in sailing among the West Indian islands, and therefore thought there were no tempests there, whereas they are the most terrible in the world. He says it may be seen that it shows the wisdom of God, for if he had encountered any of these tempests on his outward voyage, with his discontented and rebellious crew, they would have flatly refused to go on, and he could not have prosecuted his voyage.

² The bonnet is supposed to have been a small or light sail added above the mainsail.

raised. At the hour of *Salve* which is at the beginning of the night, some saw light to the leeward, and it appeared that it must be the island which they first saw yesterday: and all night he continued beating about and drawing as near as he was able to see if at sunset he could distinguish any of the islands. This night the Admiral rested a little, because he had not slept nor had been able to sleep since Wednesday, and his legs had become very much crippled from being always exposed to the cold and water and from having had little nourishment. At sunrise¹ he navigated to the south-south-west and at night he reached the island and on account of the very dark and cloudy weather he could not recognise what island it was.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 18.

Yesterday after sunset he went around the island to see where he could anchor and get tidings: he anchored with one anchor and afterwards lost the anchor: he set sail again and beat about all the night. After sunrise he again approached the northern part of the island and cast anchor where it appeared best to him, and sent the boat to land: and they had speech with the people of the island and learned that it was the island of Santa Maria, one of the Azores; and the inhabitants indicated to them the harbour² where they could enter with the caravel and they said they had never seen such a tempest as that which had prevailed during the past fifteen days, and that they wondered how they had escaped: they offered many thanks to God [he says] and rejoiced greatly on account of the news they heard of the Admiral's having discovered the Indies. The Admiral says that his navigation had been very true³ and that he had steered well, for which many thanks should be given to our Lord, although he made them a little beyond their true situation; but he had considered it sure that he was in the region of the Azores Islands, and that this island was one of them. And he says he pretended to have gone a longer distance to confound the pilots and sailors who steered, and to remain Master of the course to the Indies, as he had done, because no one of them all was certain of his course, so that none could be sure of his course to the Indies.⁴

¹ This was Sunday, February 17, no other event being recorded under that date.

² This harbour is the port San Lorenzo.

³ The ability of Columbus as a navigator is nowhere better exhibited than in the correctness of his dead reckoning, and we now see him vindicated. The other pilots insisted they were nearer the coasts of Europe by many scores of leagues and in a latitude greatly removed from the position calculated by the Admiral.

⁴ Here is evidence of a spirit which might well be interpreted as selfish and discreditable if we have not the key to the character and purpose of Columbus. By this key, we recognise that the project, the ultimate project of Columbus, demanded that he and the Sovereigns should control the new Indies and the route thereto. The success of this project, the Crusade for the recovery of the Holy Land,—that act which must have its place before the Millennium was announced—depended on the wealth to be dug from the New World and the mighty flow of revenue must not be dissipated into countless insignificant streams by the adventurers of Europe. It was, then, not an exhibition of selfishness. It was not commercial cunning. It was the skill of the workman in following the Divine design.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 19.

After sunset three men came to the shore of the island and called. He sent them the boat in which they came to the ship and brought fowls and fresh bread, and it was a Carnival Day: and they brought other things which the captain of the island sent, who was called Juan de Castañeda, saying that he knew the Admiral very well and that he did not come to see him on account of its being night: but that at dawn he would come and bring him more refreshment, and bring with him three men from the caravel who remained there, and that he did not send them back on account of the great pleasure he had with them, hearing about their voyage. The Admiral ordered that the messengers should be paid much honour and ordered beds to be given them in which to sleep that night, because it was late and the village was distant. And as on the Thursday past, when they were in the midst of the anxiety occasioned by the tempest, they made the vow and vows aforesaid, and the vow that on the first land where there was a house of Our Lady they would go in shirts, etc., he decided that half of the people should go to fulfil it at a small house which was near the sea, like a hermitage, and he would go afterward with the other half. Seeing that the country was safe, and confiding in the offers of the Captain and in the peace reigning between Portugal and Castile,¹ he begged the three men to go to the village and send a priest to say a mass for them. Half of the people went in their shirts, in fulfilment of their vow, and being at their prayers, they were attacked by all the villagers on horseback and on foot with the Captain, who captured them all. Then the Admiral remained unsuspectingly until eleven o'clock in the day, expecting the boat, in order to go himself with the other people and fulfil his vow, and seeing that the people did not come, he suspected that they were detained or that the boat was wrecked, because all the island is surrounded by very high rocks. The Admiral could not see this affair, because the hermitage was behind a point. He raised anchor and set sail directly toward the hermitage and he saw many horsemen who alighted and entered the boat armed, and came to the caravel to take the Admiral. The Captain arose in the boat and asked for his personal safety from the Admiral and he said that it was assured to him. But: why was it that he saw none of his people in the boat? And the Admiral added that if he would come and enter the caravel, that he would do all that he wished. And the Admiral tried with smooth words to get him to come so that he could take him to recover his people, not believing that he violated faith in giving him security, since he, having offered him peace and security, had broken his promise. He says that as the Captain had a bad purpose he did not trust himself to enter. Having seen that the Captain did not approach the caravel, the Admiral begged him to tell him the cause for his detaining his people, and said that it would

¹ Las Casas in the *Historia* says that the King of Portugal had ordered that wherever the Admiral might land on his return voyage, if it was in his dominions, he was to be taken, and that his people would never have dared to do as they did without orders.

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annoy the King of Portugal and that in the land of the Sovereigns of Castile the Portuguese receive great honour and they enter it and are as safe as in Lisbon: and that the Sovereigns had given them letters of recommendation for all the Princes and Lords and men in the world, which he would show the Captain if he would approach: and that he was their Admiral of the Ocean-sea and Viceroy of the Indies, which now belonged to their Highnesses, the provisions for which, signed with their signatures and sealed with their seals, he would show him and which he did show him at a distance: and that the Sovereigns felt much love and friendship for the King of Portugal and had ordered him to pay all the honour he was able to the ships of Portugal which he might encounter: and that even if he would not give him his people, he would not give up going to Castile, since he had sufficient people to navigate to Seville, and the Captain and his people would be well punished for offering them that insult. Then the Captain and the others replied that they did not know a King and Queen of Castile here, nor their letters, neither were they afraid, and rather they would have them know that it was Portugal,—almost menacing them. When the Admiral heard this he felt great resentment and he says he thought some differences had taken place between the Kingdoms after his departure, and he could not suffer that they should not reply to the Portuguese, which was right.

Then that Captain again rose at a distance [he says] and told the Admiral to go away with the caravel to the harbour and that all he was doing and had done, the King his Lord had sent him orders to do. The Admiral called on those who were in the caravel to witness this and the Admiral again called to the Captain and to them all and gave them his faith, and promised, by right of his authority, not to descend from or leave the caravel until he had taken a hundred Portuguese to Castile, and had depopulated all the island. And so he anchored again in the harbour where he was first, as the weather and wind were very unfavourable for anything else.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 20.

He ordered the ship repaired and the pipes filled with sea-water for ballast, because he was in a very bad harbour and he feared his cables might be cut, and it was so. For this reason he set sail toward the island of San Miguel, although in none of the Azores Islands is there a good harbour for the weather which prevailed then, and he had no other safety than to put out to sea.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 21.

He started yesterday from that island of Santa Maria for the island of San Miguel to see if he could find a harbour in which to endure such bad weather as prevailed, with a great deal of wind and a high sea and he went until night without being able to see either one land or the other on account of the extreme darkness and obscurity which the wind and sea caused.

The Admiral says that it was with little pleasure because he had only three sailors who knew the sea, as the most of those who were there knew nothing of the sea. He beat about all this night in a very great tempest and in great danger and difficulty; and that in which the Lord was merciful to him was that the sea or the waves, only came from one direction, because if there had been a cross-sea as in the past, he would have undergone very serious injury. After sunrise, having found that he did not see the island of San Miguel, he decided to return to Santa Maria to see if he could recover his people and the boat and the cables and anchors he left there.

He says he was astonished at such bad weather as there was in those islands and regions, because in the Indies he navigated all that winter without anchoring and it was good weather all the time, and that, for one hour alone he did not see the sea so that he could not navigate well, and in these islands he had experienced such a serious tempest, and the same happened to him on his departure as far as the Canary Islands: but having passed them, he always found the winds and the sea very temperate. In conclusion the Admiral says that the sacred theologians and learned philosophers well said that the earthly Paradise¹ is at the end of the Orient, because it is a most temperate place. So that, those lands which he had now discovered, are [he says] the end of the Orient.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 22.

Yesterday he anchored at the island of Santa Maria in the harbour or port where he had first anchored, and then a man came and called from some rocks which were facing them, telling them not to go away from there. Then the boat came with five sailors and two priests and an escribano [notary]. They asked for guarantee of security, and the Admiral having given it, they mounted upon the caravel and as it was night they slept there, and the Admiral paid them what honours he was able. In the morning they required him to show them the authority from the Sovereigns of Castile, in order to prove to them that he had made that voyage by authority of the Sovereigns. The Admiral felt that they did that in order to make it appear that they had not done wrong before, but that they were right, as they had not been able to take the person of the Admiral which they must have intended to get into their hands when they came armed in the boat; but they saw that the game did not turn out favourably to them and they feared what the Admiral had said and threatened, which he intended to do and believed that he could carry out successfully. Finally in order to obtain the people they had, he was obliged to show them the general letter from the Sovereigns for all the Princes and Lords of High Degree, and the other provisions; and he gave them what he had and they went to land satisfied and then they let all the people go with the boat, from whom he learned that if they had

¹ This is the first reference by Columbus to his belief in the location of the Earthly Paradise. We shall see him again in the Gulf of Paria in his third voyage expressing the same belief.

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taken the Admiral they would never have allowed him to go free, because the Captain said that the King, his Lord, had commanded him to do as he did.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 23.

Yesterday the weather commenced to show signs of becoming better, and he raised the anchors and went around the island in search of a good anchorage where he could take wood and stone for ballast, and he could not find an anchorage until the hour of "*completas*."¹

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 24.

He anchored yesterday in the afternoon to take wood and stone, and as the sea was very high the boat could not reach land and at the passing of the first night watch the wind commenced to blow west and south-west. He ordered the sails raised on account of the great danger there is in those islands from remaining at anchor with a south wind, and a south-west wind easily shifts till it blows south. And having seen that it was good weather to go to Castile, he abandoned his purpose of taking wood and stone and ordered the course steered to the east, and he went until sunrise, which would be six hours and a half, at the rate of about seven miles an hour, which are forty-five miles and a half. From sunrise until sunset he went six miles an hour, which in eleven hours was sixty-six miles and with the forty-five and a half travelled in the night, it made one hundred and eleven and a half, and consequently twenty-eight leagues.

MONDAY FEBRUARY 25.

Yesterday after sunset he navigated to the east upon his course, five miles an hour: in thirteen hours of this night he went about sixty-five miles which are sixteen leagues and a quarter. From sunrise until sunset he went another sixteen leagues and a half with the sea calm, thanks be to God. A very large bird came to the caravel which appeared to be an eagle.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 26.

Yesterday after sunset he navigated on his course to the east, the sea calm, thanks be to God: the most of the night he went about eight miles an hour, which was one hundred miles or twenty-five leagues. After sunrise there was little wind: there were showers, and he went a matter of eight leagues to the east-north-east.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 27.

This night and day he went out of his course on account of the contrary winds and the great waves and high sea and he found himself one hundred and twenty-five leagues from the Cape of St. Vincent and eighty from the island of Madeira and one hundred and six from the island of Santa Maria.

¹ Nine o'clock in the evening. See our note on *completas* in Vol. II., Chapter lxxxxi.

He was very much troubled with such tempests, now that he was so near the end of his journey.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 28.

He went in the same manner this night with diverse winds, to the south and to the south-east and to one side and the other and to the north-east and to the east-north-east, and in this manner he went all this day.

FRIDAY, MARCH 1.

He went this night to the east quarter of the north-east, twelve leagues: by day he ran to the east quarter north-east, twenty-three leagues and a half.

SATURDAY, MARCH 2.

He went this night on his course to the east, quarter north-east, twenty-eight leagues, and in the day he ran twenty leagues.

SUNDAY, MARCH 3

After sunset he navigated on his route to the east. A hurricane came upon him which split all his sails, and he saw himself in great danger, but God willed that they should be delivered from it. They drew lots to send a pilgrim [he says] to Santa Maria de la Cinta in Huelva, who was to go in his shirt, and the lot fell to the Admiral. They all made a vow also to fast the first Saturday after, on bread and water. He went about sixty miles before the sails were split. Then they went with bare masts on account of the great tempest of wind and sea which rolled over them from two directions. They saw indications of being near to land, and found themselves quite near to Lisbon.

MONDAY, MARCH 4.

Last night they experienced a terrible tempest, and they thought they would be lost from the seas which came from two directions, and the winds which it appeared would raise the caravel in the air, and the water from the sky and the lightnings from many directions. It pleased our Lord to sustain them and they went thus until the first watch when our Lord showed them land, the sailors seeing it: and then in order not to approach the land until they might know it and see if there was any harbour or place to save themselves, he raised the "papahigo" as there was no other remedy and they sailed some distance although with great danger, putting to sea, and thus God guarded them until day, and he says that it was with infinite labour and fright. Day having come he recognised the land, which was the Rock of Cintra, which is near the river of Lisbon, where he determined to enter as he was not able to do anything else: so terrible was the tempest which prevailed in the village of Cascaes, which is at the entrance of the river. He says the people of the village were offering prayers for them all

the morning and after he was inside the river the people came to see him, through wonder as to how they had escaped, and thus at the hour of *tercia* he came to stop at Rastelo, inside the river of Lisbon, where he learned from the sea-faring people, that there was never a winter with so many tempests, and that twenty-five ships had been lost in Flanders, and others were there which had not been able to go out for four months. Then the Admiral wrote to the King of Portugal, who was nine leagues from there, that the Sovereigns of Castile had ordered him not to fail to enter the harbours of his Highness to ask what he might need in return for his money: and he asked the King to give him authority to go with the caravel to the city of Lisbon, as some dishonest persons thinking that he carried a great deal of gold and he being in a depopulated [*despoblado*] harbour, might undertake to commit some dishonest action: and also that his Highness might know that he did not come from Guinea but from the Indies

TUESDAY, MARCH 5.

To-day Bartholomew Diaz ¹ of Lisbon, the Patron of the large ship of the King of Portugal which was also anchored in Rastelo and which was better furnished with artillery and arms [the Admiral says] than any ship he ever saw, came with a small vessel armed to the caravel, and told the Admiral to enter the small vessel in order to go and give account to the factors of the King and to the Captain of the said ship. The Admiral replied that he was the Admiral of the Sovereigns of Castile, and that he did not render such accounts to such persons, nor would he get off from the ships or vessels where he was, unless he was obliged to by force of arms. The Patron replied that he might send the Master of the Caravel: the Admiral replied that he would neither send the Master nor any other person unless it was by force, because he considered it the same to allow a person to go as to go himself, and this was the custom of the Admirals of the Sovereigns of Castile to die rather than to give up their people. The Patron moderated his demands, and said that since he had formed that determination that it should be as he wished; but that he begged him to order the letters from the Sovereigns of Castile shown to him, if he had them. It pleased the Admiral to show them to him and then the Patron returned to the ship and related the matter to the Captain, who was called Alvaro Dama, who came to the caravel in great state with kettle-drums and trumpets and pipes, making a great display: and he talked with the Admiral and offered to do everything that he ordered him to do.

¹ Here is a strange union, if but for a passing hour, of two illustrious men, two famous sailors, representing the two great maritime Powers of the earth; the one the first to push his way southward till he turned the southern extremity of the Old World: the other the first to make his way to the West and to verify the prophecy of the ancients in the discovery of other lands; the one winning for Portugal a southern route to Old India; the other gaining for Spain a New India and a New World. Diaz must have comprehended at once that, great as his own work had been, he stood in the presence of one to whom a far greater deed had been vouchsafed.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 6.

Having learned that the Admiral came from the Indies so many people came from the city of Lisbon to-day, to see him and to see the Indians, that it was a wonderful thing to see them and the way they all marvelled, giving thanks to our Lord and saying that through the great faith of which the Sovereigns of Castile possessed and their desire to serve God, his High Majesty had given them all this.

THURSDAY, MARCH 7.

To-day an exceedingly large number of people came to the caravel and many knights, among them the factors of the King, and they all offered infinite thanks to our Lord for such great good and increase of Christianity, which our Lord had given to the Sovereigns of Castile, which he says they attributed to the fact that their Highnesses laboured and applied themselves for the increase of the Religion of Christ.

FRIDAY, MARCH 8.

To-day the Admiral received a letter from the King of Portugal by Don Martin de Noroña, in which letter the King begged him to come where he was, since the weather was not suitable for the departure of the caravel: and he did so in order to avoid suspicion, although he did not wish to go and he went to sleep at Sacanben:¹ the King ordered his factors to give the Admiral and his people everything they needed for the caravel without money, and that everything should be done as the Admiral wished.

SATURDAY, MARCH 9.

To-day he left Sacanben, to go where the King was, which was at the valley of Paraiso, nine leagues from Lisbon: as it rained he was not able to reach there until night. The King ordered that he should be received with great honour by the principal persons of his house, and the King also received him with great honour, and showed him much favour, and ordered him to be seated and talked with him very well, and told him that he would order everything done which would be of use to the Sovereigns of Castile and to their service, and more fully than as if it were for his own service. And he showed that he felt great pleasure that the voyage had terminated favourably, and that it had been made; although he understood that in the capitulation between the Sovereigns and himself, that this conquest belonged to him. The Admiral replied to this that he had not seen the capitulation and did not know anything other than that the Sovereigns had commanded him not to go to the Mine nor to any part of Guinea, and that this had been proclaimed in all the ports of Andalusia

¹ Sacavem, a village in Estremadura on the west bank of the estuary of the Tagus and seven miles north of Lisbon.

Christopher Columbus

before he started on the voyage. The King graciously responded that he was certain that mediators would not be necessary in this matter. He gave him as a host the Prior of Clato, who was the most important person who was there, from whom the Admiral received many honours and favours.

SUNDAY, MARCH 10.

To-day after mass the King repeated to the Admiral that if he needed anything it would be given to him at once: and he talked with the Admiral a great deal about his voyage, and always ordered him to be seated and paid him great honour¹

MONDAY, MARCH 11.

To-day the Admiral took leave of the King, who told him some things to say to the Sovereigns on his part, showing great kindness toward him all the time. The Admiral departed after eating and the King sent Don Martin de Noroña with him, and all those cavaliers came to accompany him, and paid him honours for quite a length of time. Then he came to a

¹ The following very interesting episode is found narrated in the *Historia*. Although it is not stated in the *Journal*, it would seem from this account that some of the Indians accompanied the Admiral on his visit to the King of Portugal, and we, who have followed them from the time they joined voluntarily or involuntarily the ship of Columbus and have noted the difficulty with which they made themselves understood, may well marvel at the intelligence exhibited by them according to this anecdote.

Las Casas says the story was much told at the time, and that he also heard it related in the island of Española. He says:

"While the King was talking with the Admiral, he ordered a dish of beans brought and placed on a table near them, and by signs ordered an Indian from among those who were there, to designate the many islands of his country that the Admiral said he had discovered. The Indian at once showed, Española and Cuba, and the Lucayos and others. The King noted it with morose consideration and in a moment, as though he did it inadvertently he undid with his hand what the Indian had constructed. In a few moments he ordered another Indian to do the same with the beans, and this Indian quickly and diligently showed with the beans what the other Indian had shown, and perchance added more islands and lands, giving the reason in his language for all he had shown, although no one understood it. And then the King recognising clearly the greatness of the lands discovered and their riches, was unable to conceal his grief at the loss of such inestimable things, and cried out loudly and impetuously, giving himself a blow with his fist in the breast: 'Oh! man of miserable understanding. Why didst thou let an undertaking of such great importance go out of thine hands!'"

Las Casas says he heard all this in those first or early times from those who talked about it, and says if it is true it must be asked why the Admiral did not tell of it in his relation of the voyage, but that it can be replied it was better to tell it to the Sovereigns alone than to publish it abroad; and Las Casas thinks it was the hand of God which directed the Admiral back there where he would see the King and tell him of his discovery, as a punishment to the King for his ill treatment of the Admiral and the trick he played upon him. Las Casas then remarks that a Portuguese historian, Garcia de Resende, relates the affair of the meeting of the Admiral with the King, and says the King was so troubled and pained by what the Admiral said of the discoveries that those present attributed his grief to the boldness of the Admiral and begged leave to kill him so that the news of the discovery would not go back to Castile, but that the King was afraid of God and forbade it, and even honoured and favoured the Admiral.

monastery of San Antonio, which is near a place which is called Villafranca,¹ where the Queen was staying; and he went to present his homage to her and to kiss her hands, because she had sent to say that he must not go away until she saw him: and with her was the Duke and the Marquis, and the Admiral received great honour. The Admiral took leave of her at night and went to sleep at Llandra.²

TUESDAY, MARCH 12.

To-day as he was about to start from Llandra for the caravel, a squire from the King arrived, who offered him on the part of the King, if he wished to go to Castile by land, to go with him, and procure lodgings and beasts of travel for him and everything he might need. When the Admiral parted from this squire, the squire sent him a mule for himself and another for his pilot, whom he had with him, and he says he learned that the squire had ordered that twenty small short swords [*espadines*] should be given to the pilot; and he says that it was said that this was all done that the Sovereigns might learn of it. He reached the caravel in the night.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 13.

To-day at 8 o'clock in a high sea and with the wind north-north-west, he raised the anchors and set sail to go to Seville.

THURSDAY, MARCH 14.

Yesterday after sunset, he pursued his course to the south and before sunrise he found himself off the Cape of San Vincent, which is in Portugal. Then he navigated to the east to go to Saltes, and he went all day with a light wind until the present, when he is off Furon.

FRIDAY, MARCH 15.

Yesterday after sunset he navigated on his course until day, with a light wind, and at sunrise he was off Saltes, and at the hour of mid-day with the tide rising, he entered by the bar of Saltes until he was inside the harbour from which he had departed August 3 of the past year; and thus he says that this writing is now finished, excepting that he intended to go by sea to Barcelona in which city he was informed that their Highnesses were staying and this was in order to make them a relation of all his voyage which our Lord had permitted him to make, and for which He had inspired him. For certainly besides that, he knew and held to it firmly and

¹ *Villafranca de Nira* is a village on the right bank of the Tagus some twenty miles north-east of Lisbon. This is the same site named Cornualla, or Cornwall, by the English settlers about the year 1147. The Mohammedans had been driven out of Lisbon by the German and English Crusaders on their way to Palestine, and when under Alfonso Henriques the country was taken, some of the English remained as colonists.

² *Llandra*, Alhandra, a town on the right bank of the Tagus and eighteen miles north-east from Lisbon.

strongly without scruple, that His Exalted Majesty does all good things, and that everything is good except sin and that nothing can be estimated or thought which is not with His consent. "This voyage I know [says the Admiral] has miraculously proved it to be so, as can be learned from this writing by the many remarkable miracles which have been shown on the voyage and for me, who have been such a long time in the Court of Your Highnesses, with the opposition and against the advice of so many of the principal persons of your house, who were all against me, treating this matter as a hoax. I hope in our Lord that it will be the greatest honour for Christianity, although it has been accomplished with such ease [*que así ligeramente haya jamas aparecido*]." These are the final words of the Admiral Don Christopher Columbus in regard to his first voyage to the Indies, and his discovery of them.¹

¹ "This is a copy of the one [*Journal*] which, in the handwriting of the Bishop, Friar Bartolomé de las Casas, exists in the archives of the most Excellent Señor Duke del Infantado, being in a small folio volume bound in parchment, consisting of 76 leaves written in a small and compact hand. There is another ancient copy there [in the same archives], something later [in the time of its writing] to that of Las Casas, also in folio, with the same kind of binding and with 140 leaves. Both have been before us in the lengthy comparison which the Chief Cosmographer of the Indies, Don Juan Bautista Muñoz and I have made, in Madrid, February 27, 1791. Martin Fernandez de Navarrete."—Navarrete, vol. i., p. 1660.

In the *Historia* Bartolomé de las Casas has made quite a full relation of the reception given Columbus by the Sovereigns at Barcelona, and as it is almost the only authority we have for that interview, we quote it in full.

The second event which the citizens of Barcelona were celebrating will be found mentioned in our essay on "Peter Martyr." * This was the escape of King Ferdinand from an attempted assassination.

Las Casas says:

"He [Columbus] made the most haste he possibly could to reach Barcelona where he arrived the middle of April, and the Sovereigns were extremely solicitous to see him: and, having learned of his arrival, they ordered that a solemn and very beautiful reception should be given him, for which all the people came out and the whole city, filling the streets and marvelling on seeing in that venerable person the one who was said to have discovered another world, and on seeing the Indians and the parrots and the many nuggets and jewels and things made of gold which he had discovered and was carrying, and which never had been heard of or seen.

"For his reception the Sovereigns, with more solemnity and pomp, ordered their estrade and Royal throne placed in public where they were seated and with them the Prince Don Juan, very joyful in appearance and accompanied by many great Lords, Castilians, Catalonians, Valencians and Aragonese, all breathless and anxious for the arrival of the man who had accomplished such a great and heroic feat, and one which was a cause for rejoicing to all Christianity. Then he entered the room where the Sovereigns were, accompanied by a multitude of noblemen and people of the highest rank, among all of whom, as he was tall and of commanding presence and looked like a Senator of the Roman people, his venerable countenance was distinguished crowned with grey hairs and with a modest smile showing plainly the joy and glory with which he came. Having first made them a profound acknowledgment, according to what was due to such great Princes, they arose to meet him as though he were one of the great Lords, and then drawing nearer, he knelt and begged them to give him their hands: they yielded to his entreaty with some reluctance and he having kissed their hands, they with most joyful faces ordered him to arise, and what was the supreme honour and favour among those which their Highnesses were accustomed to grant to very few Grantees, they ordered a stool [*silla vasa*] brought and that he should be seated in their Royal presence. He related very quietly and modestly the favours

* Chapter ix., page 54

which God, in the venture of such Catholic Sovereigns, had shown him on his voyage, gave a particular account, as far as the time and season admitted of his route and discovery, and enumerated the greatness and felicity of the countries he had discovered, affirming the many more to be discovered, especially as at that time he thought the Island of Cuba was the main-land, according to what will be related farther on. He showed the things which he brought which had not been seen, bringing out the large specimens of gold in beaten pieces although not very polished, and many large and small grains for smelting as they were taken from the earth, which he also carried; and he certified to the infinite amount which there was shown to be in those lands, and the confidence which must be reposed in their royal treasures as if the Sovereigns already had them gathered under their keys; and likewise what was the most precious treasure and to be thought most of, he told of the multitude and simplicity, meekness and nudity and customs of the people of these countries, and the very apt disposition and ability which he recognised in them to be brought to our Holy and Catholic faith: and there were present the Indians he took with him. Having heard all this and pondered upon it profoundly, the Catholic and most devout Princes arose and knelt down upon the floor and having joined their hands and raised them to Heaven, and with their eyes filled with tears, they commenced to give thanks to the Creator from the depths of their hearts: and as the singers of the Royal chapel were there, in readiness and prepared, they sang *Te Deum Laudamus* and the high minstrels responded, so that it appeared that in that hour the celestial delights were opened and manifested to them and they communicated with them. Who can describe the tears which sprang from the Royal eyes and from the eyes of many Grandees of those realms who were there, and of all the persons of the Royal House? What joy, what pleasure, what ecstasy bathed the hearts of all! How some commenced to animate others and to propose in their hearts to come and settle these countries and aid in converting these people! Because they heard and saw that the most serene Princes and particularly the holy Queen Doña Isabella, by words and by the examples of their heroic works, gave all to understand that the principal pleasure and rejoicing of their souls proceeded from their having been found worthy before the Divine Presence; so that through their favour and by the expenditures [although very small] of their Royal Treasury, there should have been discovered so many unbelieving nations and so disposed, that in their times they might recognise their Creator and be reduced to the pale of His Holy and Universal Church, and His Catholic faith and Christian religion would be so immensely expanded.

"This immense and new joy was increased beyond comparison because our Lord ordered that it should come just at a time when the Catholic King, Don Ferdinand, was entirely recovered from a cruel knife-thrust which an unfortunate madman had given him in the neck, and which if he had not had on a golden collar like those which were worn then, would have wholly severed his throat. The demon inspired this man with the idea that if he killed him, he would be King. His Highness lay at the point of death from this wound, and as he was recently restored to health, inestimable festivities and rejoicings took place throughout all the Kingdom.

"So that Divine Providence ordained, in order to give to the Sovereigns and all the realms inestimable reason for rejoicing, that two such notable and joyful and new causes should occur together, which should spread among all kinds of persons such an abundance of spiritual and temporal happiness.

"Finally the Most Serene Sovereigns gave permission to the Admiral for that day, that he should go to rest at the inn, to which he went, honourably accompanied by all the Court, by command of the Sovereigns.

"During all the time that the Admiral remained in Barcelona, the Sovereigns increased his honours and favours each day. It was said that when the King rode through the city on horseback, he ordered the Admiral to go on one side of his Highness and the Infante on the other side, a favour which was for the Royal blood and which was not permitted to any other Grandee.

"Recognising these privileges, honours and favours which the Sovereigns bestowed upon the Admiral, as upon a person who had gained so much for them and merited so much, all the Grandees honoured and venerated him and were pleased only in doing so. They invited him to eat with them, each one when he was able to have him, some in order to serve the Sovereigns whom they beheld honouring and loving him so much, some because they saw that all had an interest in the service which he had rendered to the Sovereigns and the benefit which he was to all Spain, some from a desire to learn particularly of the great and wonderful countries and peoples and riches which he had discovered and the marvels which befell him, going and coming on his voyage.

"At that time, the Most Illustrious Cardinal and Archbishop of Toledo, Don Pero Gonzalez de Mendoza, brother of the Duke of Infantado, was triumphant in those realms of Castile and prosperous at the Court. He was a great and eminent personage, not only because of the generous blood from which he sprang—as the Lords of that house manifest themselves to be—but he was greater and more distinguished by his generous and notable deeds, so much so, that he alone appeared to hold all Spain in peace, and in love, and grace, and obedience to the Catholic Sovereigns: and he was especially powerful with the Grandees of the Kingdom, as, when the Sovereigns had only commenced to reign and had had terrible wars with Portugal, at a time when some people in the Kingdom had an opportunity to conceive diverse opinions [the King Don Henry IV. being dead] the most Noble Cardinal had rendered great service to the Sovereigns and very felicitously, on account of which he was very much loved and protected by the Royal persons, with the most just reason. His wisdom, industry, grace and affability and also his commanding and gracious presence [as he was one of the handsomest and largest men in all Spain] were such, united with his honourable esteem and reputation and the reverence that every one felt for him, that he never allowed a Grandee or Nobleman to become vicious or discontented with the Sovereigns, but he at once placated him, soothed him, persuaded him to forget the grievance he felt, and reduced him to the grace and service of their Highnesses: and although it might be dangerous to the Sovereigns to dissimulate or pardon, or not to deny the favours which were asked of them, he brought everything to a due, harmonious and happy conclusion, soothed everyone, agreed with everyone, pacified everyone and placed everything in the best of order, on account of which all the Kingdom named him most meritoriously the angel of peace.

"For all these causes and for his many merits he was very much loved by the Catholic Sovereigns and was the most protected and favoured of all, without a shade of envy being felt by anyone, small or great, on account of his prosperity; which very seldom happens with those who are singularly favoured by the Sovereigns, but all loved and esteemed him, and were pleased with his power over the Grandees, because they all knew his fortune to be for the good of all.

"He was most munificent in the expenditures and arrangements of his house, and continually furnished very sumptuous daily fare for all the Grandees and noble persons who were worthy of his most noble and ample table: and he was well able to do it as the Sovereigns had given him more than forty millions of revenue, which in those times was more, and more could be done with it, than in these times with much more than a hundred millions.* There was not a Grandee or Lord in the Court, however great he might be, who did not consider himself favoured and joyful on the day that he left his own table and house of state, either because the Cardinal invited him or because he of his own will offered to remain and eat with him to enjoy his presence, sharing in his repast. He honoured everyone, each one according to his rank and dignity, and God gave him among others this grace that everyone was content, and it did not appear to anyone that there was more due him than the Cardinal gave him in words and interviews and other points of honour. It was also said and believed that he never injured a man, nor was there anyone who murmured or complained of him. From all these virtues it almost came to be a proverb with everyone, that the Cardinal carried the Court with him and that he being at Court, there was a Court, and having left the Court there was no Court.

"This most munificent Lord and great ecclesiastic, seeing the merits and labours of the said First Admiral of these Indies, and the fruit which began to appear from them, and how the most grateful Sovereigns had honoured and exalted him, also honoured and exalted him and ordered that he should be honoured and venerated. So much so, that he, before any other Grandee, carried him away one day to dine with him, as he was leaving the Palace, and seated him at the table in the highest place and the one nearest to himself and ordered that he should remain covered when his food was served to him and that it should be tasted before it was served [*é le hiciesen salva*]: and that was the first time that this latter honour was rendered to the said Admiral and that he was served while remaining covered, the same as a Lord: and from that time henceforward he was served with the solemnity and pomp which was required by his dignified title of Admiral."

* The reader interested in political economy will here notice the increased purchasing power of money, two and one half times, after the passage of just fifty years.





